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ELEGIAC POETRY



Edited and Translated by
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GREEK ELEGIAC

POETRY
FROM THE SEVENTH TO
THE FIFTH CENTURIES BC

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藏书章

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DOUGLAS E. GERBER



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GREEK ELEGIAC POETRY

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PREFACE

This volume aims at providing a text and translation of the elegiac poets contained in the second edition of M. L. West's two volumes, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford 1989 and 1992). For various reasons, however, a number of poets have been omitted. West includes four of the Seven Sages (Bias, Chilon, Periander, Pittacus) who are reported to have composed elegies, but nothing has survived. Several of the poets in Campbell's *Loeb Greek Lyric* also composed elegies and these are included in his volumes. The poets involved and the location of their elegies in his five volumes are as follows: Anacreon (ii.146-49), Aristotle (v.218-19), Clonas (ii.330-33 s.v. Polymnestus), Echembrotus (iii.200-201), Ion (iv.360-67), Melanippides (v.14-15), Olympus (ii.272-73), Polymnestus (ii.330-31), Saccadas (iii.202-205), Sappho (i.2-7), Simonides (iii.506-19), Sophocles (iv.330-33), Timocreon (iv.94-97). Some minor poets were not included because of space limitations. Finally, Antimachus has been omitted, since it would be more appropriate to include his elegiac fragments in a translation of his entire remains.

I have not attempted to include all the testimonia, but only those that are significant. Similarly, the apparatus criticus is reduced to what I have judged most important. In some instances a fragment is cited or referred to in

PREFACE

several sources, but only the most important are given. The reader can find the others in the editions of West or Gentili-Prato. The numbering of the fragments follows West, that of the testimonia is my own. In my translations I have attempted to provide an English rendering which represents the Greek as closely as possible without being stilted or ambiguous.

It remains to express my deep gratitude to Professors Christopher Brown, Leslie Murison, William Race, Robert Renehan, and Emmet Robbins, who read and commented on substantial portions. Their generosity and expertise are much appreciated.

University of Western Ontario

Douglas E. Gerber

For Joan
uxori singulari

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INTRODUCTION

In English the word 'elegy' has strong threnodic overtones, but that clearly is not true of most of the poems in this volume.¹ Almost any topic, apart from the scurrilous or obscene, was considered suitable for archaic elegy and in this period it is therefore more appropriate to define elegy as simply a poem composed in elegiac couplets.² Most of the poems in this volume were presumably composed for performance at symposia and therefore would seldom have exceeded 100 verses, but there is also evidence for elegies of much greater length, poems dealing with the history of a particular state,³ although none of these has survived intact. In all likelihood these were delivered at public festivals, perhaps for competition. We have an in-

¹ The discussion that follows reproduces much that is in my section on elegy in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* (Leiden 1997) 91-132. In addition to the bibliography cited there see K. Bartol, *Greek Elegy and Iambus. Studies in Ancient Literary Sources* (Poznan 1993).

² For a succinct account of its metrical characteristics see M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 44-46.

³ Mimnermus' *Smyrneis* (see fr. 13, 13a and test. 10) may be an example. See also Tyrtaeus test. 1 with n. 3. Simonides' elegiac poem on the battle of Plataea (fr. 10-17 IEG²) may well be of considerable length.

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scription commemorating the victory in the Pythian games of 586 won by Echembrotus of Arcadia, "singing songs and elegies" (ἀείδων μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους),⁴ but we are not told of the content of these elegies.

In the passage just cited we have the earliest example of the word ἔλεγος (*elegos*). It next appears in Euripides and Aristophanes where the meaning is similar to that of its English derivative, namely, a poem or song of lamentation. This, however, is probably a later development, prompted perhaps by the regular practice in the fifth century of composing epigrams on the dead in elegiac couplets. In the inscription of Echembrotus there is nothing to indicate the contents of his elegies. The contrast with μέλεα (songs) may point to a difference in musical accompaniment, the former accompanied by a stringed instrument and the latter by a wind instrument, but it is also possible that *elegos* is here essentially a metrical term. Such is clearly the meaning in one of the earliest occurrences of ἐλεγείον (*elegeion*), since Critias (see fr. 4) states that Alcibiades' name cannot be accommodated ἐλεγείῳ, i.e., either to the elegiac couplet as a whole or more specifically to the pentameter. In the fourth century we meet the form ἐλεγεία (*elegeia*), as in the introduction to Solon frs. 4a and 4b, and here too it is a metrical term. In fact, *elegeion* and *elegeia* are essentially synonyms, denoting a poem or, in the plural, a collection of poems in elegiac couplets.

The etymology of *elegos* is unclear. The ancient lexicographers postulated a variety of derivations, and others have been proposed by modern scholars, the likeliest being a

⁴ For the full text and a translation see Gerber, *Companion* p. 94, or Campbell's *Loeb Greek Lyric* iii.200 f.

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derivation from Armenian *elegn*, reed. A reed instrument, the *aulos* (pipe or oboe),⁵ was certainly used to accompany elegies at times and, although the evidence is somewhat problematic, I agree with those who argue that it provided the regular accompaniment.

Callinus

Callinus was a native of Ephesus in Ionia and can be dated to the middle of the 7th century. Strabo (test. 1) claims that he is older than Archilochus because the latter referred to the destruction of the Magnesians, whereas Callinus mentions their prosperity; but only a short period may have elapsed between the two references. All the meagre remains of Callinus are concerned with warfare, especially the fighting against the Cimmerians who came down from the eastern area of the Black Sea into Phrygia and Lydia and succeeded in burning the temple of Artemis in Ephesus.

The one substantial fragment of Callinus is an attempt to rouse his countrymen from their inactivity and to display the utmost courage in battle. It is a fine example of martial poetry, superior to that of Tyrtaeus on the same topic.

Tyrtaeus

A number of our sources (testt. 1-8) state that when the Spartans were embroiled in the Second Messenian War

⁵ On the *aulos* see M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 81-109.

INTRODUCTION

(latter part of the 7th century) they received an oracle from Delphi to obtain an adviser from Athens, and the Athenians sent them Tyrtaeus, a lame schoolmaster. Whatever truth there is in all this, what has survived of his poetry is concerned primarily with two issues: exhortations to the Spartans to fight with the utmost bravery and support for the government of the state, probably as a result of civil strife arising from setbacks in the war.

The three longest fragments (10-12) describe the ideal soldier and the disgrace that attends those who are cowardly. Their poetic quality, however, is uneven. Although there is some striking imagery, there are also awkward transitions, repetition, and padding. Like Callinus' verses, there is indebtedness to epic language, but unlike Callinus, Tyrtaeus is not averse to following closely a lengthy Homeric passage, as a comparison between *Iliad* 22.66-76 and fr. 8.19-30 illustrates.

It is sometimes said that Tyrtaeus' poetry is representative of the only kind of literature that was accepted in Sparta in his time, but in fact in contrast to two centuries later there is ample evidence that the visual arts were flourishing and that several poets and musicians visited Sparta. In addition, we must remember that Alcman, also Spartan, was roughly contemporary with Tyrtaeus, and his poetry is very different.

Mimnermus

The *Suda* (test. 1) assigns the poet's *floruit* to 632-29 and this seems to be substantially correct. In fr. 14 Mimnermus states that he learned from his elders of the

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exploits of a hero who routed the Lydian cavalry and if this refers to the defeat of Gyges by the Smyrnaeans in the 660s, Mimnermus will have been born not long before. Mimnermus seems to be urging the citizens to emulate this hero and the occasion may be the attack of Alyattes, the fourth king of Lydia, who succeeded in razing Smyrna about 600.

In test. 1 the *Suda* gives Mimnermus' homeland as either Colophon or Smyrna, and in several sources he is referred to as simply a Colophonian. Fr. 9, however, and the fact that he composed a *Smyrneis* (fr. 13a) strongly suggest that he was from Smyrna. The error may have arisen from his having frequently mentioned Colophon. Also, in contrast to Smyrna "Colophon had a continuous tradition down to Hellenistic times" (West, *Studies* 72) and was the homeland of such famous poets as Xenophanes and Antimachus.

According to test. 9 Mimnermus' poems were collected in two books, but he is never cited from a specific book. Instead, we have six fragments (4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 24) assigned to a work entitled *Nanno* and one (13a) to a *Smyrneis*. Since the former embrace a wide range of topics, it is probable that the title *Nanno* was given to a collection of poems. The fact that the *Smyrneis* contained a proem in which the double genealogy of the Muses was given (fr. 13) suggests that it was of substantial length. If we are to believe testt. 3 and 4, Nanno was a pipe-player loved by Mimnermus.

Horace and Propertius (testt. 11-12) speak of Mimnermus as a love poet, but only fr. 1 has much to say on this topic and even here the emphasis is on the brevity of youth and the horrors of old age (as in fr. 2-5). Regardless of the

INTRODUCTION

subject matter, however, Mimnermus is a consummate poet and it is not surprising that he made such an impression on Hellenistic and Roman poets.

Solon

In the year 594/93 Solon was made archon in Athens and he lived until shortly after Pisistratus became tyrant in 560. Much of his surviving poetry falls into clearly defined periods: before his archonship, afterwards when he defends his reforms, and in his last years when he warns the Athenians against supporting Pisistratus. A ten-year period after his archonship was spent in travel, to Egypt and Cyprus (frr. 19 and 28).

Solon is not to be included among poets of the highest rank, but he also does not deserve the low esteem in which he is sometimes held. Fr. 4, for example, with its effective use of personification, imagery, anaphora, and chiasmus, reveals a high level of poetic skill. Fr. 13, however, the longest elegy we have from the archaic period and perhaps a complete poem, is of poorer quality. Because of its lack of cohesiveness it has generated a considerable bibliography, as critics attempt to explain the train of thought and central theme. But for all its imperfections it shows us a more reflective and philosophical Solon than we find in most of his other verses and thereby fills out our picture of the man.

Some of Solon's fragments are in iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters, but their contents do not differ from many in elegiac meter, an indication that the distinction usually found between elegy and iambus in Archilochus no longer applies.

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Theognis

Under the name Theognis is a collection of poems which most would agree represents an anthology containing genuine works of Theognis, selections from other elegists (e.g., Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon), and anonymous poems, together with numerous verses repeated throughout the corpus, usually with some slight variation. Disagreement arises, however, concerning how and when the anthology was formed and what segments should be assigned to Theognis.⁶

Almost nothing is known about Theognis the man, except that he was an aristocrat living in Megara during a period of political turmoil when class distinctions were breaking down. There is some evidence that he went into exile. The *Suda* (test. 1) dates his floruit to 544/41 and this may be substantially correct, but our uncertainty about the authorship of certain segments makes his dating highly problematic.

Many of the poems are addressed to a boy Cynus, who is also called by his patronymic Polypaïdes, and in most instances these contain admonitions to abide by aristocratic ideals. Some critics treat the presence of Cynus' name as proof of authenticity, but the name could easily have been added by someone who wished to pass off his verses as the work of Theognis.

The collection as we have it begins with four short invocations, followed by a very controversial segment (vv. 19

⁶ On the formation of the anthology see the sensible remarks of E. Bowie in G. W. Most (ed.), *Collecting Fragments: Fragmente sammeln* (Göttingen 1997) 61-66.

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ff.) in which the poet mentions a seal that is to be placed on his verses. This has the appearance of a prologue and in vv. 237-54 we seem to have an epilogue. The intervening verses are more cohesive than those which follow and 19-254 may represent in large part the earliest collection of his poetry. Finally, at some stage the pederastic segments were gathered together to form Book II.

Except for Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns, the elegies of Theognis represent the earliest poems to have been preserved in manuscripts of their own. Since these elegies are clearly not all the work of Theognis, it would be more accurate to refer to them as *Theognidea*, but I have used the term Theognis throughout.

Xenophanes

Xenophanes is better known as a pre-Socratic philosopher, but only the elegiac fragments will be considered here. Born in Colophon about 565, he left when the Medes overran his city in the late 540s and spent the rest of his life in various places in Magna Graecia (see test. 1 and fr. 8). He died about 470.

In addition to the poems in hexameters, most of which are concerned with the nature of deity and with explanations of natural phenomena (wind, rain, celestial bodies), we are told that he also composed iambic poetry. None of this has survived, but we do have one fragment (see n. 5 on test. 1) consisting of an iambic trimeter followed by a dactylic hexameter, and hexameters interspersed with trimeters may have been more common, especially when the poem had the character of a lampoon (see n. 1 on test. 2).

The three major elegiac fragments have as their subject

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matter the ideal symposium, criticism of the excessive esteem in which athletes are held, and a denunciation of the soft life led by Colophonian aristocrats. One thread which runs throughout all three is the emphasis on usefulness.

Minor Poets

Little can be said about the remaining poets that is not obvious from the testimonia or fragments. Some are very shadowy figures and the chronological order in which they are placed is extremely tentative. The Adespota contain two fragments (61 and 62) which might be the work of Archilochus.

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CALLINUS

TESTIMONIA

1 Strabo 14.1.40 (= fr. 3 West)

καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ συνέβη τοῖς Μάγνησιν ὑπὸ Τρη-
ρῶν ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι, Κιμμερικοῦ ἔθνους, εὐτυχή-
σαντας πολὺν χρόνον, τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Μιλησίους
κατασχεῖν τὸν τόπον. Καλλῖνος μὲν οὖν ὥς εὐτυχούν-
των ἔτι τῶν Μαγνήτων μέμνηται καὶ κατορθούντων ἐν
τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους πολέμῳ, Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ (fr. 20)
ἤδη φαίνεται γνωρίζων τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμ-
φορὰν, κλαίειν <φάσκων τὰ> (add. West) Θασίων οὐ τὰ
Μαγνήτων κακά. ἐξ οὗ καὶ αὐτὸν νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ
Καλλίνου τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν. Quae sequuntur v.
ad fr. 5.

2 Orion *etym.* s.v. ἔλεγος (col. 58.8 Sturz)

εὐρετῆ<ν> δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, οἱ δὲ
Μίμνερμον, οἱ δὲ Καλλῖνον παλαιότερον.

¹ For similar claims that Callinus invented the elegiac couplet
see *Gramm. Lat.* vi.107, 376, 639 Keil. Photius (v.158 Henry), on

CALLINUS

TESTIMONIA

1 Strabo, *Geography*

And in ancient times it happened that the Magnesians, who had long been prosperous, were utterly destroyed at the hands of the Treres, a Cimmerian tribe, and that in the following year the Milesians took possession of the place. Now Callinus mentions the Magnesians as still prosperous and as successful in their war with the Ephesians, but Archilochus is clearly already aware of the disaster that befell them, <since he says that> he bewails the woes of the Thasians, not those of the Magnesians. As a result one may infer that he is later than Callinus.¹

¹ For the same chronology see Arch. test. 8. Athenaeus 12.525c cites both Callinus and Archilochus as sources for the destruction of the Magnesians at the hands of the Ephesians.

2 Orion, *Lexicon*

Some say that the elegiac couplet originated with Archilochus, others with Mimnermus, and others with Callinus at an earlier time.¹

the authority of Proclus, names Callinus and Mimnermus as being among the best elegiac poets.

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3 Paus. 9.9.5 (= fr. 6 West)

ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον καὶ ἔπη Θηβαῖς (Θηβαίοις codd., corr. Hemsterhuys). τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα Καλλῖνος (Καλαῖνος codd., corr. Sylburg), ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι, Καλλίνῳ (Καλαίνῳ codd., corr. Sylburg) δὲ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγου κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν.

4 Strabo 13.1.48 (= fr. 7 West)

συννοικιοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν εἶτε μῦθον τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ (sc. Χρύση) τὴν περὶ τῶν μυῶν. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις, οὓς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλῖνος ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ πολλοί, χρησμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μονήν, ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται. συμβῆναι δὲ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς φασι περὶ Ἀμαξιτόν· νύκτωρ γὰρ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀρουραίων μυῶν ἐξανθήσαν διαφαγεῖν ὅσα σκύτινα τῶν τε ὅπλων καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων· τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθι μέιναι. τούτους δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰδην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ προσονομάσαι.

5 Strabo 13.4.8

φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης (FGrHist 124 F 29) ἀλῶναι τὰς Σάρδεις ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων πρῶτον, εἰθ' ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν καὶ Λυκίων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλῖνον δηλοῦν τὸν τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητήν, ὅστατα δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Κύρου καὶ Κροίσου γενέσθαι ἄλωσιν. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλίνου τὴν

CALLINUS

3 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

And on this war there was composed the epic poem *Thebais*. When Callinus had occasion to mention this poem he said that Homer was its author,¹ and many good authorities have shared the judgement of Callinus.

¹ On this see J. A. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968) 81-82.

4 Strabo, *Geography*

And they also associate the history or myth about the mice with this place (Chrysa). When the Teucrians arrived from Crete—Callinus the elegiac poet was the first to hand down an account of them and many have followed him—they had an oracle which told them to stay wherever the earth-born attacked them. And they say that this happened to them round Hamaxitus,¹ for by night a great horde of field mice burst forth and devoured all the leather on their arms and utensils, and there they stayed. And it was they who gave the name Ida (to the mountain) after the Ida in Crete.

¹ South of Troy near cape Lectum.

5 Strabo, *Geography*

Callisthenes says that Sardis was captured first by the Cimmerians,¹ then by the Treres and the Lycians, as the elegiac poet Callinus reveals, and that the final capture was in the time of Cyrus and Croesus. But when Callinus

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ἔφοδον τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑσιονῆας γεγονέναι,
καθ' ἣν Σάρδεις ἐάλωσαν, εἰκάζουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν
Σκῆψιον (Demetr. Sceps. fr. 41 Gaede) Ἰαστὶ λέγεσθαι
Ἑσιονεῖς τοὺς Ἀσιονεῖς· τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μηονία, φησὶν,
Ἀσία ἐλέγετο.

FRAGMENTS

1 Stob. 4.10.12

Καλλίνου·

μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε; κότ' ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμόν,
ὦ νέοι; οὐδ' αἰδέεισθ' ἀμφιπερικτίονας
ὦδε λίην μεθιέντες; ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ δοκεῖτε
ῆσθαι, ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει

.....

- 5 καί τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ' ἀκοντισάτω.
τιμῆέν τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου
δυσμενέσιν· θάνατος δὲ τότ' ἔσσεται, ὅππότε κεν δὴ
Μοῖραι ἐπικλώσωσ'. ἀλλὰ τις ἰθὺς ἵτω
10 ἔγχος ἀνασχόμενος καὶ ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλκιμον ἦτορ
ἔλσας, τὸ πρῶτον μειγνυμένου πολέμου.
οὐ γάρ κως θάνατόν γε φυγεῖν εἰμαρμένον ἐστὶν,
ἄνδρ', οὐδ' εἰ προγόνων ἢ γένος ἀθανάτων.
πολλάκι δηϊοτῆτα φυγῶν καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων
15 ἔρχεται, ἐν δ' οἴκῳ μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου.

CALLINUS

says that the invasion of the Cimmerians was against the Esioneis, at which time Sardis was captured, the Scepsian and his followers conjecture that the Asioneis were called Esioneis in the Ionic dialect: for perhaps Maeonia, he says, used to be called Asia.

¹ See Strabo on fr. 5.

FRAGMENTS

1 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Callinus:

How long are you going to lie idle? Young men, when will you have a courageous spirit? Don't those who live round about make you feel ashamed of being so utterly passive? You think that you are sitting in a state of peace, but all the land is in the grip of war¹ . . .² even as one is dying let him make a final cast of his javelin. For it is a splendid honour for a man to fight on behalf of his land, children, and wedded wife against the foe. Death will occur only when the Fates have spun it out. Come, let a man charge straight ahead, brandishing his spear and mustering a stout heart behind his shield, as soon as war is engaged. For it is in no way fated that a man escape death, not even if he has immortal ancestors in his lineage. Often one who has escaped from the strife of battle and the thud of javelins and has returned home meets with his allotted death in his

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ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔμπησ δῆμῳ φίλος οὐδὲ ποθεινός,
 τὸν δ' ὀλίγος στενάχει καὶ μέγας, ἣν τι πάθη·
 λαῶ γὰρ σύμπαντι πόθος κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς
 θνήσκοντος, ζῶων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων.

20 ὥσπερ γάρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶσιν·
 ἔρδει γὰρ πολλῶν ἄξια μῶνος ἑών.

1 τεῦ codd., corr. Fick
 codd., corr. Bucherer

8 ὀκκότε Bach

11 μιν-

2 Strabo 14.1.4

αὗται μὲν δώδεκα Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις, προσελήφθη δὲ
 ὕστερον καὶ Σμύρνα εἰς τὸ Ἰωνικόν, ἐναγαγόντων
 Ἐφεσίων· ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς σύνοικοι τὸ παλαιόν,
 ἥνίκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Ἐφεσος· καὶ Καλλῖνός
 που οὕτως ὠνόμακεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἐφε-
 σίους καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δία λόγῳ.

Σμυρναίους δ' ἐλέησον,

2a Pergit Strabo

καὶ πάλιν·

μνηῆσαι δ', εἴ κοτέ τοι μηρία καλὰ βοῶν
 <Σμυρναῖοι κατέκταν>.

Quae sequuntur v. ad Hippon. fr. 50.

2a 2 suppl. Casaubon

CALLINUS

house. But he is not in any case loved or missed by the people, whereas the other, if he suffer some mishap, is mourned by the humble and the mighty. All the people miss a stout-hearted man when he dies and while he lives he is the equal of demigods. For in the eyes of the people he is like a tower, since single-handed he does the deeds of many.

¹ Probably with the Cimmerians (cf. fr. 5). ² The meter shows that at least one verse is missing, probably more.

2 Strabo, *Geography*

These are the twelve Ionian cities, but at a later time Smyrna was also added, having been brought into the Ionian league by the Ephesians. For of old the Ephesians were fellow inhabitants of the Smyrnaeans, when Ephesus was also called Smyrna. And Callinus somewhere has so named it, when he calls the Ephesians Smyrnaeans in his address to Zeus:

have mercy on the Smyrnaeans,

2a and again:

remember, if ever (the Smyrnaeans burned) fine
thigh bones of oxen for you

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3 = test. 1

4 St. Byz. (p. 634.3 Meineke)

Τρῆρος χωρίον Θράκης, καὶ Τρῆρες Θράκιον ἔθνος.
λέγεται καὶ τρισυλλάβως παρὰ Καλλίνῳ τῷ ποιητῇ·

Τρήρας ἄνδρας ἄγων.

Θεόπομπος (FGrHist 115 F 378) Τρᾶρας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ.

Τρήρας West, Τρήρας codd.

5 Strabo 14.1.40 (quae praecedunt v. ad test. 1)

ἄλλης δέ τινος ἐφόδου τῶν Κιμμερίων μέμνηται
πρεσβυτέρας ὁ Καλλῖνος, ἐπὰν φῇ·

νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται
ὄβριμοεργῶν,

ἐν ᾗ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν δηλοῖ.

ὄβριμος ἔργων codd., corr. Xylander

6 = test. 3

7 = test. 4

CALLINUS

4 Stephanus of Byzantium, *Lexicon of Place-names*

Treros is a place in Thrace and the Treres are a Thracian tribe. The word has three syllables in the poet Callinus:

bringing Trerian men

Theopompus calls them Trares.

5 Strabo, *Geography*

And Callinus mentions another, earlier invasion of the Cimmerians when he says:

now the horde of Cimmerians, with their acts of violence, is advancing,

by which he is clearly referring to the capture of Sardis.¹

¹ Cf. test. 5.

TYRTAEUS

TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda* (iv.610.5 Adler)

Τυρταῖος, Ἀρχεμβρότου, Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος, ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ αὐλητής· ὃν λόγος τοῖς μέλεσι χρησάμενον παροτρύνει Λακεδαιμονίους πολεμοῦντας Μεσσηνίοις καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπικρατεστέρους ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ παλαιάτατος, σύγχρονος τοῖς ἑπτὰ κληθείσι σοφοῖς, ἢ καὶ παλαιότερος. ἤκμαζε γοῦν κατὰ τὴν λέ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. ἔγραψε πολιτείαν Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ὑποθήκας δι' ἐλεγείας, καὶ μέλη πολεμιστήρια, βιβλία ε'.

Τυρταῖος· ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥμοσαν ἢ Μεσσηνήν αἰρήσειν ἢ αὐτοὶ τεθνήξεσθαι. χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν, λαμβάνουσι Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν, χωλὸν ἄνδρα· ὃς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτοὺς παρακαλῶν εἶλε τῷ κ' ἔτει τὴν Μεσσηνήν· καὶ ταύτην κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐν τοῖς Εἰλωσι κατέταξαν.

¹ Presumably a conjecture based on the difficulty of imagining a Spartan poet composing in Ionic. ² The date may be a little early (see n. on fr. 5). Jerome (p. 96b Helm) dates him to 633-632.

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TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda*

Tyrtaeus, son of Archembrotus, a Laconian or Milesian¹ elegiac poet and pipe-player. It is said that by means of his songs he urged on the Lacedaemonians in their war with the Messenians and in this way enabled them to get the upper hand. He is very ancient, contemporary with those called the Seven Sages, or even earlier. He flourished in the 35th Olympiad (640-637).² He wrote a constitution³ for the Lacedaemonians, precepts⁴ in elegiac verse, and war songs,⁵ in five books.⁶

Tyrtaeus. The Lacedaemonians swore that they would either capture Messene or die, and when the god gave them an oracle to take a general from the Athenians, they took the poet Tyrtaeus, a man who was lame.⁷ By exhorting them to valour he captured Messene in the 20th year.⁸ They razed it and grouped the prisoners among the helots.

³ Perhaps a reference to the *Eunomia* (see fr. 1-2). ⁴ Fr. 10-12 and 18-23a may be included in this category. ⁵ None of these has survived, since those ascribed to Tyrtaeus (fr. 856-57 PMG) are considered spurious. ⁶ No source cites from a specific book. ⁷ See testt. 3 and 7. ⁸ A confusion arising from fr. 5.7. Tyrtaeus lived during the Second, not the First, Messenian War.

ELEGIAC POETRY

Athenian Origin

2 Pl. *Leges* 1.629a-b

προστησώμεθα γοῦν Τυρταῖον, τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον, τῶνδε δὲ πολίτην γενόμενον, ὃς δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι “οὔτ’ ἄν μνησαίμην οὔτ’ ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην” οὔτ’ εἴ τις πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων εἴη, φησὶν, οὔτ’ εἰ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένος, εἰπὼν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, ὃς μὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄριστος γίγνοιτ’ αἰεί. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκήκοάς που καὶ σὺ τὰ ποιήματα.

3 Schol. ad loc. (p. 301 Greene)

ὁ Τυρταῖος οὗτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐγένετο, εὐτελής τὴν τύχην· γραμματιστὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ χωλὸς τὸ σῶμα, καταφρονούμενος ἐν Ἀθήναις. τοῦτον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχρησεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους εἶχον τὴν μάχην καὶ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ κατέστησαν πολλῇ, ὥς δὴ ἱκανοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου πρὸς τὸ συνιδεῖν τὸ λυσιτελές· αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐπέτρεψε χρήσασθαι συμβούλῳ. Quae sequuntur v. ad fr. 5.3.

4 Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 106

τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεθ’ οὗ καὶ τῶν πολε-

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Athenian Origin

2 Plato, *Laws*

Let us cite in support Tyrtaeus, who was an Athenian by birth but became a citizen of the Lacedaemonians;¹ he beyond all others had a keen interest in these matters, saying "I would not mention or take account of a man,"² though he were the richest of men or possessed many good things—he mentions almost all of them—, if he were not always the best in war. Presumably you too have heard these poems.

¹ The Athenian origin of Tyrtaeus is cited, and elaborated on, by a large number of sources. It is generally treated as an example of Athenian propaganda, in spite of the fact that Plato, our earliest authority, was an admirer of Sparta. ² Fr. 12.1. See n. ad loc.

3 Scholiast on the passage

This Tyrtaeus was an Athenian, one whose station in life was lowly; for he was a schoolmaster, lame, and looked down upon at Athens. Apollo gave the Lacedaemonians an oracle to send for him, when they were fighting the Messenians and were in great difficulty, since he would suffice for them to see what was to their advantage. Apollo ordered them to use him as an adviser.

4 Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*

Who of the Greeks does not know that the Lacedaemonians took Tyrtaeus from our city (i.e., Athens) as their gen-

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μίων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα βουλευσάμενοι καλῶς; κατέλιπε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία ποιήσας, ὧν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν. Quae sequuntur v. ad fr. 10.

5 Philod. *de mus.* 17 (p. 28 Kemke)

]· περὶ μὲν τοῦ Λακε[δαιμονίου]υς, ὅταν μαχησόμε[νοι ἐν]διδῶσιν, αὐλοῖ[ς χ]ρῆσθα[ι καὶ] λύραις, οὐθὲν ἔτι δεῖ λέγ[ειν]. τὸ δὲ Τυρταῖον αὐτοὺς [ἀνει]ληφέναι καὶ προτετιμ[ηκέ]ναι διὰ μουσικὴν ἀνιστ[όρη]τον ἔοικεν εἶναι, πάντων μὲν σχεδὸν ὁμολογούν[των] κατὰ χρησμὸν αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀ[θη]νῶν μεταπεπέμφθαι, π[λείσ]των δὲ γνωσκόντων ὅ[τι] ποιητὴς ἦν καὶ διὰ ποιη[μά]των γενναίας διανοί[ας πε]ριεχόντων [

6 Diod. Sic. 8.27.1-2

οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ἡττηθέντες εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντες ἡρώτων περὶ πολέμου. ἔχρησε δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προτραπέντες ὑπὸ Τυρταίου οὕτω προθύμως εἶχον πρὸς παράταξιν, ὥστε μέλλοντες παρατάττεσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐγράψαντο εἰς σκυταλίδα καὶ ἐξῆψαν ἐκ τῆς χειρός, ἵνα τελευτῶντες

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eral and with him prevailed over their enemies and established their system of training for the young, planning well not only for the present danger but for all time? For Tyrtaeus composed and left them elegiac poems and by listening to them they are taught to be brave.

5 Philodemus, *On Music*¹

With regard to the Lacedaemonians' use of pipes and lyres whenever they struck up a tune at the onset of battle, there is no need to say anything more. But that they took Tyrtaeus and honoured him above others because of his music does not seem to be recorded, since almost everyone agrees that he had been sent for from Athens in accordance with an oracle and most people know that he was a poet and that by means of poems which contained noble thoughts . . .

¹ I have printed the text as it will appear in D. Dellatre's edition. For this text and an analysis of the passage see E. Puglia, "Tirteo nei papiri ercolanesi," *Miscellanea Papyrologica* I (Florence 1990) 27-35. He also discusses a citation of fr. 10.15-16 in these papyri and its relevance for the debate whether fr. 10 represents one poem or two.

6 Diodorus Siculus, *World History*

When the Spartans suffered defeat at the hands of the Messenians they sent to Delphi and asked about the war. The god advised them in an oracle to procure a leader from the Athenians. The Lacedaemonians, urged on by Tyrtaeus, were so eager for battle that when they were about to be drawn up in battle order they wrote their names on a small stick and tied it on their arms, in order

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μὴ ἀγνοῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων. οὕτω παρέστησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς τὸ τῆς νίκης ἀποτυχάνοντες ἐτοίμως ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸν ἔντιμον θάνατον.

7 Paus. 4.15.6

ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραινέσοντα ἃ χρήσφισιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην οὔτε αὐτοὶ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσι καὶ—ἦν γὰρ Τυρταῖος διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων νοῦν τε ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν χωλός—τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὁπόσους τύχοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία καὶ τὰ ἔπη σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα ᾗδεν.

8 Plut. *apophth. Lac.* 230d

πυνθανομένου δέ τινος, διὰ τί Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐποιήσαντο πολίτην, “ὅπως” ἔφη (sc. Πανσανίας)

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that if they died they might be recognized by their kinsmen.¹ So ready were they in spirit to accept willingly an honourable death, should they fail to achieve victory.

¹ This detail is also recorded by Polyaeus 1.17 and Justin 3.5. In 15.66.3 Diodorus again mentions Tyrtaeus' Athenian origin.

7 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

The Lacedaemonians received an oracle from Delphi to procure the Athenian as counsellor. They therefore despatched messengers to the Athenians to announce the oracle and asked for a man to advise them what they should do. The Athenians, unwilling either that the Lacedaemonians should annex the best part of the Peloponnese without great risk or that they themselves should take no heed of the god, devised accordingly. There was a schoolmaster, Tyrtaeus, who seemed to have little sense¹ and who was lame in one foot,² and they sent him to Sparta.³ Upon his arrival he sang his elegiac and anapaestic verses, both privately to those in office and to as many as he could gather together.

¹ Diogenes Laertius 2.43 reports that the Athenians spoke of Tyrtaeus as 'deranged' (*παράκοπτειν*). ² Porphyr. in Hor. A.P. 402 (p. 176 Holder) adds that he was also 'one-eyed' (*luscum*).

³ That the Athenians sent Tyrtaeus as an insult to the Spartans is recorded by Ampelius 14 (*per ludibrium*), Justin 3.5 (*in contemptum*), and ps.-Acron in Hor. A.P. 402 (*in contumeliam*).

8 Plutarch, *Sayings of Spartans*

When someone asked why they had made the poet Tyrtaeus a citizen, Pausanias said: "so that a foreigner

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“μηδέποτε ξένος φαίνεται ἡμῶν ἡγεμών.”

Miscellaneous

9 Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* 749 (Acarnaniae)

τὸμ Μούσαις, ὦ ξεῖνε, τετιμένον ἐνθάδε κρύπτει
Τιμόκριτογ κόλπῳ κυδιάνειρα κόνις.
Αἰτωλῶν γὰρ παισὶ πάτρας ὕπερ εἰς ἔριν ἐλθὼν
ὠγαθὸς ἦ νικᾶν ἤθελεν ἢ τεθνάναι·
5 πίπτει δ' ἐμ προμάχοισι λιπὼμ πατρὶ μύριον
ἄλγος,
ἀλλὰ τὰ παιδείας οὐκ ἀπέκρυπτε καλά·
Τυρταίου δὲ Λάκαιναν ἐνὶ στέρνοισι φυλάσσω
ῥῆσιν τὰν ἀρετὰν εἴλετο πρόσθε βίου.

10 Ath. 14.630f

πολεμικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Λάκωνες, ὧν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τὰ
ἐμβατήρια μέλη ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἅπερ καὶ ἐνόπλια
καλεῖται. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
τὰ Τυρταίου ποιήματα ἀπομνημονεύοντες ἔρρυθμον
κίνησιν ποιοῦνται. Φιλόχορος δέ (FGrHist 328 F 216)
φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ

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might never seem to be our leader.”¹

¹ For other references to Tyrtaeus’ non-Spartan origin see Strabo ad fr. 2.12-15, Aelian V.H. 12.50 (= Terp. test. 7 Campbell), Themist. or. 15.197c, and Orosius *adv. pag.* 1.21.7.

Miscellaneous

9 Inscription (3rd c. B.C.)

Stranger, the dust that brings glory to men conceals here in its bosom Timocritus, honoured by the Muses. For when the brave man came into conflict with the sons of the Aetolians on behalf of his homeland, it was his desire either to be victorious or to die. He fell among the front ranks and left his father with pain beyond measure, but he did not lose sight of his noble upbringing. Taking to heart the Spartan declaration of Tyrtaeus, he chose valour ahead of life.¹

¹ P. Friedländer, *AJP* 63 (1942) 78-82, argues that the author is Damagetus, several of whose epigrams are included in the *Anthologia Graeca*. Whoever the author is, he is clearly echoing passages in Tyrtaeus.

10 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

The Spartans are warlike and their sons adopt the marching songs which are called *enoplia*.¹ And the Spartans themselves in their wars march in time to the poems of Tyrtaeus which they recite from memory. Philochorus says that after the Lacedaemonians prevailed over the Messen-

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τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἂν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ἄδειν καθ' ἓνα <τὰ> (add. Kaibel) Τυρταίου· κρίνειν δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον διδόναι τῷ νικῶντι κρέας.

11 Plut. *Cleom.* 2.3

Λεωνίδα μὲν γὰρ τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν ἐπερωτηθέντα, ποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητῆς γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἰπεῖν “ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς κακκανῆν.” ἐμπιπλάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐνθουσιασμοῦ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἠφείδουν ἑαυτῶν.

12 Hor. *A.P.* 401-403

post hos insignis Homerus / Tyrtaeusque mares animos in
Martia bella / versibus exacuit.

13 Pollux 4.107

τριχορίαν δὲ Τυρταῖος ἔστησε, τρεῖς Λακώνων χορούς, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην, παῖδας ἀνδρας γέροντας.

14 Schol. Dionys. Thrac. (*Gramm. Gr.* i(3).168.8 Hilgard)

ποιητῆς δὲ κεκόσμηται τοῖς τέσσαρσι τούτοις, μέτρῳ, μύθῳ, ἱστορίᾳ καὶ ποιᾷ λέξει, καὶ πᾶν ποίημα μὴ

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ians because of the generalship of Tyrtaeus, they established the custom in their campaigns that, after dinner and the hymn of thanksgiving, each sing in turn the poems of Tyrtaeus; their military commander acts as judge and gives a prize of meat to the winner.

¹ Literally, songs 'under arms.'

11 Plutarch, *Life of Cleomenes*

They say that Leonidas of old, when asked what sort of poet he thought Tyrtaeus was, replied: "a good one to incite the hearts of the young."¹ For filled with inspiration by his poems they were unsparing of their lives in battle.

¹ Similarly Plut. *de sollert. anim.* 1.959a and *apophth. Lac.* 235e.

12 Horace, *Art of Poetry*

After these (sc. Orpheus and Amphion) Homer achieved his fame and Tyrtaeus with his verses sharpened manly hearts for the wars of Mars.¹

¹ For Tyrtaeus in association with Homer see also Quintilian 10.1.56 and 12.11.27.

13 Pollux, *Vocabulary*

Tyrtaeus established three choruses of Spartans on the basis of age: boys, men, and old men.

14 Scholiast on Dionysius of Thrace

A poet is equipped with these four things, meter, myth, narrative, and diction of a particular kind, and any poem

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μετέχον τῶν τεσσάρσων τούτων οὐκ ἔστι ποίημα· ἀμέλει τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ τὸν Τυρταῖον καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἀστρολογίας εἰπόντας οὐ καλοῦμεν ποιητάς, εἰ καὶ μέτρῳ ἐχρήσαντο, διὰ τὸ μὴ χρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν χαρακτηριστικοῖς.

Τυρταῖον <τὸν Πύθιον> Gigante, Ἄρατον Cataudella

FRAGMENTS

1 Arist. Pol. 5.6.1306b36

ἔτι ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀπορῶσι λίαν, οἱ δὲ εὐπορῶσι (γίνονται αἱ στάσεις). καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται· συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον· δῆλον δὲ {καὶ τοῦτο} (del. Verrall) ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤξιουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν.

2 P. Oxy. xxxviii.2824, ed. Turner

5

]..ε θεοπρο[π
]..φ..ενακ[
]..μαντειασαν[
]τειδεταθῆ[
]πάντ' εἶδεν[
 ἄ]νδρας ἀνιστ[αμεν
]ι[.]ηγαλα[

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that does not partake of these four is not a poem. For instance, we do not give the name of poet to Empedocles and Tyrtaeus and those who talk about astronomy, even if they employed meter, because they did not make use of what characterizes a poet.¹

¹ The last sentence also appears in *Anecd. Gr.* ii.734.14 Bekker.

FRAGMENTS

1 Aristotle, *Politics*

Furthermore, factions arise whenever some (aristocrats) are extremely poor and others are well off. And this happens especially during wars; it happened too in Sparta in the course of the Messenian War, as is clear from the poem of Tyrtaeus called *Eunomia*.¹ For some, hard pressed because of the war, demanded a redistribution of the land.

¹ Perhaps 'Law and Order' is an adequate rendering of the word. As A. Andrewes, "Eunomia," *CQ* 32 (1938) 89-102, explains, the word describes "a condition of the state in which citizens obey the law, not a condition of the state in which the laws are good" (p. 89).

2 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (late 1st or early 2nd cent. A.D.)

. . .¹ dear to the gods . . . let us obey (the kings since

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10]θεοῖσι φίλ
]ω πειθώμεθα κ[
]αν ἐγγύτεροι γέν[εος·
αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων] καλλιστεφάνου [πόσις
Ἥρης
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις] ἄστυ δέδωκε τό[δε,
οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπ]όντες Ἐρινεὸν [ἡνεμόεντα
15 εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπ]ο[ς] νῆσον ἀφικόμ]εθα
]γλαυκώπ[ι]δος[

13 τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν Strabo (τηνδεδωκε palimps., δε supra
lin. sec. Lasserre), ἄστυ ἔδωκε? West

Strabo 8.4.10 (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 8)

καὶ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν ἐκείθεν ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν· “αὐτὸς—ἀφικόμεθα.” ὥστ’ ἡ ταῦτα ἀκυρωτέον (ἡκύρωται codd., corr. Porson) τὰ ἐλεγεία, ἡ Φιλοχόρῳ (FGrHist 328 F 215) ἀπιστητέον τῷ φήσαντι Ἀθηναῖόν τε καὶ Ἀφιδναῖον καὶ Καλλισθένει (124 F 24) καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσι τοῖς εἰποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀφικέσθαι, δεηθέντων Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ χρησμὸν ὃς ἐπέταττε παρ’ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα.

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they are?) nearer to the race (of the gods?). For Zeus himself, the son of Cronus and husband of fair-crowned Hera, has given this state to the descendants of Heracles.² With them we left windy Erineus³ and came to the wide island of Pelops⁴ . . . of the grey-eyed⁵ . . .

Strabo, *Geography*

For Tyrtaeus says that he came from there⁶ in the elegy entitled *Eunomia* (vv. 12-15). Consequently we must either deny the validity of these elegiac verses or we must disbelieve Philochorus, who said that Tyrtaeus was an Athenian and Aphidnean,⁷ and Callisthenes and a great many others who said that he came from Athens when the Spartans asked for him in accordance with an oracle which instructed them to obtain a leader from Athens.

¹ In what precedes v. 9 there are references to consultation of the Delphic oracle and to men standing up, presumably to speak.

² On this myth and its significance see I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994) 15-45. See also n. 2 on fr. 19.

³ In Doris in central Greece. Thucydides (1.107) calls Doris the "mother city of the Lacedaemonians" and names Erineus as one of three towns in it.

⁴ Although the Peloponnese (lit. 'island of Pelops') is not strictly an island, it was so defined because of the narrow isthmus.

⁵ Athena.

⁶ Generally taken to mean 'from Lacedaemon,' but some understand 'from Erineus.'

⁷ No doubt here the deme Aphidnae in Athens, but there was also a place of the same name in Laconia.

- Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν
 μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα·
 ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
 οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτης ἱμερόεσσα πόλις,
 5 πρεσβυγενέας τε γέροντας· ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας
 ἄνδρας
 εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους
 μυθεῖσθαί τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια,
 μηδέ τι βουλεύειν τῇδε πόλει <σκολιόν>·
 δήμου τε πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι.
 10 Φοῖβος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ᾧδ' ἀνέφηνε πόλει.

1 οἱ τάδε νικᾶν Plut., corr. Amyot 3 βουλη cod.
 excerpti (V) 4 Σπάρτας Plut. 5 πρεσβυγενεῖς δὲ V
 (-έας Bergk), πρεσβύτας τε Plut. 6 εὐθείην ῥήτρας V
 7 δὲ V, corr. Dindorf 8 μηδέ τι ἐπιβουλεύειν V, corr. Bach:
 μηδ' ἐπιβουλεύειν Dindorf σκολιόν add. Bach

Plut. *Lyc.* 6

οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λυ-
 κοῦργος ὥστε μαντείαν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομίσαι περὶ
 αὐτῆς, ἣν ῥήτραν καλοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας ἱερὸν
 ἰδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς
 ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις
 καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξύ

After listening to Phoebus they brought home from Pytho the god's oracles and sure predictions. The divinely honoured kings, in whose care is Sparta's lovely city, and the aged elders are to initiate counsel; and then the men of the people, responding with straight utterances, are to speak fair words, act justly in everything, and not give the city (crooked) counsel. Victory and power are to accompany the mass of the people. For so was Phoebus' revelation about this to the city.¹

¹ The text is a combination from Plutarch and Diodorus, but there are many who argue that vv. 7-10 should not be assigned to Tyrtaeus and a few who print the first two verses from Plutarch followed by the entire text of Diodorus. The Spartan *rhetra* (literally 'utterance') and the rider are highly controversial and it must suffice to refer to H. T. Wade-Gery, *CQ* 37 (1943) 62-72, 38 (1944) 1-9, 115-26 = *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1958) 37-85, and D. Ogden, *JHS* 114 (1994) 85-102. My translation below of Plutarch is deliberately literal; consult Wade-Gery and Ogden for interpretations, textual problems, and bibliography. See also West, *Studies* 184-86, and D. Musti, *RFIC* 124 (1996) 257-81.

Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*

Lycurgus laid such stress on this office that he obtained an oracle about it from Delphi; they call it a *rhetra* and it runs as follows:

After founding a temple of Zeus Syllanios and Athene Syllania, tribing the tribes and obing the obes, establishing thirty as a council of elders along with the kings, hold apellae season after season be-

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Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε
καὶ ἀφίστασθαι, δάμω δὲ ἀν<τα>γορίαν ἤμην καὶ
κράτος.

. . . ὕστερον μέντοι, τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσει καὶ
προσθήσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβια-
ζομένων, Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς
τάδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν·

αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔροιτο, τοὺς
πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας
εἶμεν.

. . . ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ὥς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα
προστάσσοντος, ὥς που Τυρταῖος ἐπιμέμνηται διὰ
τούτων· “Φοίβου—ἀνταπαμβομένους.”

Excerpta e Diodoro (7.12.5-6)

ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Λυκούργος ἤνεγκε χρησμὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν
περὶ τῆς φιλαργυρίας τὸν ἐν παροιμίας μέρει μνη-
μονευόμενον·

ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν.

(ἡ Πυθία ἔχρησε τῷ Λυκούργῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν
οὕτως marg.)

<ᾧ>δε γὰρ ἀργυρότοξος ἄναξ ἐκάεργος
Ἀπόλλων
χρυσοκόμης ἔχρη πίνος ἐξ ἀδότου·
ἄρχειν—πόλει.

TYRTAEUS

tween Babyca and Cnacion, thus bring in and set aside (proposals), but the right to speak in opposition and the power are to belong to the people.

... Afterwards, however, when the multitude distorted and perverted proposals by subtraction and addition, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus subjoined the following:

If the people should speak crookedly, the elders and kings are to be setters-aside.

... And they actually persuaded the city that the god ordered this, as Tyrtaeus mentions in these verses (1-6).²

² The rider is not in fact mentioned in the verses cited by Plutarch.

Excerpts from Didorus Siculus, *World History*

That the same Lycurgus brought an oracle from Delphi concerning love of money and its memory is preserved in the form of a proverb:

Love of money and nothing else will destroy Sparta.³

The Pythia gave Lycurgus the following oracle about the constitution (marginal comment).

For thus Apollo who works from afar, the golden-haired lord of the silver bow, prophesied from his rich shrine:

(vv. 3-10)

³ Bergk inserted this in his fr. 3, but there is no reason to assign it to Tyrtaeus, hence the omission of fr. 3 in West's edition.

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῇ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον,
Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ
φυτεύειν.

5 ἀμφ' αὐτὴν δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη
νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες·
εἰκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πύονα ἔργα λιπόντες
φευγόν Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

3 ἀγαθὴν bis Buttmann φυτεῦσαι Olympiodorus
4 ἄμφω τῷδε Strabo, ἀμφ' αὐτὴν Paus.

Paus. 4.6.5

οὗτος δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῷ
πολέμῳ· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία τῶν Τυρταίου
λέγοντα “ἡμετέρῳ—εὐρύχορον.”

Schol. Plat. *Leg.* 629a (p. 301 Greene). Quae praecedunt
v. ad test. 3.

ἀφικόμενος δὲ οὗτος (sc. Τυρταῖος) εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
καὶ ἐπίπνους γενόμενος συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς ἀν-
ελέσθαι τὸν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμον, προτρέπων
παντοίως· ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ φερόμενον εἰπεῖν ἔπος,
“Μεσσήνην—φυτεύειν.”

cf. Olympiod. in *Alc.* I p. 103 Westerink (= schol. p. 100
Greene), Strab. 8.5.6

. . . to(?) our king Theopompus dear to the gods, through whom we captured spacious Messene, Messene good to plough and good to plant. For nineteen years the spearmen fathers of our fathers fought ever unceasingly over it, displaying steadfast courage in their hearts, and in the twentieth year the enemy fled from the high mountain range of Ithome, abandoning their rich farmlands.¹

¹ No source cites these as consecutive verses and many prefer to print three separate fragments. The first sentence is incomplete and so the force of the initial dative cannot be determined. Pausanias (4.13.7) dates the end of the war to 724, but V. Parker, "The Dates of the Messenian Wars," *Chiron* 21 (1991) 25-47, makes a good case for dating the First War to c. 690-670 and consequently the Second to the latter part of the 7th century. See also Mosshammer 204-209.

Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

It was this Theopompus who put an end to the war and my evidence is the elegiac verses of Tyrtaeus which say (vv. 1-2).

Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*

Upon arriving in Lacedaemon and becoming inspired Tyrtaeus advised them to wage war against the Messenians, urging them on by every means possible, including the famous verse (v. 3).

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Strabo 6.3.3

Μεσσήνη δὲ ἐάλω πολεμηθεῖσα ἑννεακαίδεκα ἔτη,
καθάπερ καὶ Τυρταῖός φησιν “ἀμφ’—ὀρέων.”

cf. Strab. 8.4.10 (v. fr. 8), Paus. 4.15.2 (vv. 4-6), 4.13.6 (vv. 7-8)

6 Paus. 4.14.4-5

τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων
ἔσχεν οὕτως. πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγουσιν ὄρκον
μήτε ἀποστήναί ποτε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν μήτε ἄλλο ἐρ-
γάσασθαι νεώτερον μηδέν· δεύτερα δὲ φόρον μὲν
οὐδένα ἐπέταξαν εἰρημένον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γεωργουμένων
τροφῶν σφισιν ἀπέφερον ἐς Σπάρτην πάντων τὰ
ἡμίσεα. προείρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν
βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς
Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ,
καὶ τοῖς παραβᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο ποινή. <ἐς τὰς> τιμωρίας
δὲ ἃς ὕβριζον ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους Τυρταίῳ πεποιη-
μένα ἐστίν·

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,
δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπο λυγρῆς
ἡμισυ παντὸς ὅσον καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

3 πάνθ’ ὅσ(σ)ων Paus. (ret. West), παντὸς ὅσον Ahrens, alia
alii

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Strabo, *Geography*

Messene was captured after a war of nineteen years, as Tyrtaeus says (vv. 4-8).

6 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

As for the Messenians themselves they received the following treatment from the Lacedaemonians. First they exacted from them an oath never to revolt or to engage in any other act of rebellion. Second, they imposed no fixed tribute on them, but they brought to Sparta half of all their farm produce. And there was also a proclamation that the men come from Messenia with their wives dressed in black to the funerals of the kings and of other officials, and punishment was imposed on the transgressors. As for the penalties with which they mistreated the Messenians, there are the verses composed by Tyrtaeus:

like asses worn out by heavy burdens, bringing to their masters out of grievous necessity half of all the produce that the land brings forth.

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7 Pergit Paus.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπενθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε·

δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,
εὐτέ τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

8 Strabo 8.4.10

πλεονάκεις δὲ ἐπολέμησαν διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησι Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι (fr. 5.6)· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἀργείους τε καὶ ἱ'Ηλείους (Ἀρκάδας Kramer) καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγόν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνος, ἡνίκα φησὶν αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. Quae sequuntur v. ad fr. 2.12-15.

9 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.8.5.1116a36

καὶ οἱ προτάττοντες (v.l. προστάττοντες), καὶ ἀναχωρῶσι τύπτοντες, τὸ αὐτὸ δρῶσι· καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παρατάττοντες· πάντες γὰρ ἀναγκάζουσιν· δεῖ δὲ οὐ δι' ἀνάγκην ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καλόν.

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7 Pausanias continues

And that they were forced to share in their mourning Tyrtaeus has shown as follows:

wailing for their masters, they and their wives alike,
whenever the baneful lot of death came upon any.

8 Strabo, *Geography*

On more than one occasion they went to war because of the revolts of the Messenians. Tyrtaeus says in his poems that the first conquest of them took place at the time of the fathers' fathers, the second at the time when the Messenians chose Argives, Arcadians(?),¹ and Pisatans as allies and revolted, the Arcadians providing Aristocrates, king of Orchomenus, as general, and the Pisatans providing Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, at which time Tyrtaeus says that he himself served as general in the war for the Lacedaemonians.

¹ See n. 3 on fr. 23a.

9 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

And those who draw up troops in front of them¹ and beat them if they give ground are doing the same thing, as well as those who draw them up in battle order in front of trenches¹ and such things, since they are all using compulsion. A man ought to be brave not because he is compelled to be, but because it is noble.

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Eustrat. ad loc. (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* xx.165.1)

τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγοι ἄν· τοιαύτην γάρ
τινα μάχην ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν ἐμαχέ-
σαντο, ἥς καὶ Τυρταῖος μνημονεύει.

10 Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 107. Quae praecedunt v. ad test. 4.

καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες,
περὶ τούτου οὕτω σφόδρα ἐσπουδάκασιν ὥστε νόμον
ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξεστρατευμένοι (ἐκστρ.
codd., corr. van Es) ᾧσι (εἰσὶν codd., corr. Becker),
καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν ἀκουσομένους
τῶν Τυρταίου ποιημάτων ἅπαντας, νομίζοντες οὕτως
ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλιν ἀπο-
θνήσκειν. χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἀκούσαι τῶν
ἐλεγείων, ἵν' ἐπίστησθε οἷα ποιοῦντες εὐδοκίμουν
παρ' ἐκείνοις·

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον,
τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πίονας ἀγροὺς
πτωχεύειν πάντων ἔστ' ἀνιηρότατον,
5 πλαζόμενον σὺν μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ γέροντι
παισί τε σὺν μικροῖς κουριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ.
ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι μετέσσεται οὓς κεν ἵκηται,
χρησμοσύνη τ' εἴκων καὶ στυγερῇ πενίῃ,
αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ δ' ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει,
10 πᾶσα δ' ἀτιμία καὶ κακότης ἔπεται.

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Eustratius on the passage

One could say this about the Lacedaemonians; for when they waged war against the Messenians, such was their manner of fighting, as Tyrtaeus mentions.

¹ It may be significant that a trench seems to be mentioned in fr. 23a.19.

10 *Lycurgus, Against Leocrates*

And although they took no account of other poets, they placed such high value on him that they passed a law that whenever they took to the field under arms they should all be called to the king's tent to listen to the poems of Tyrtaeus, judging that by so doing they would be especially willing to die for their homeland. And it is useful for you to listen to these elegiac verses, so that you may know by what kind of deeds they won esteem in their eyes:

It is a fine thing for a brave man to die when he has fallen among the front ranks while fighting for his homeland, and it is the most painful thing of all to leave one's city and rich fields for a beggar's life, wandering about with his dear mother and aged father, with small children and wedded wife. For giving way to need and hateful poverty, he will be treated with hostility by whomever he meets, he brings disgrace on his line, belies his splendid form, and every indignity and evil attend him. If then

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εἰ δ' οὕτως ἀνδρός τοι ἄλωμένου οὐδεμί' ὥρη
 γίνεται οὔτ' αἰδώς, οὐδ' ὀπίσω γένεος,
 θυμῷ γῆς πέρι τῆσδε μαχώμεθα καὶ περὶ παίδων
 θνήσκωμεν ψυχῶν μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.

15 ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες,
 μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχροῦς ἄρχετε μηδὲ φόβου,
 ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιείσθε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν,
 μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι·

20 τοὺς δὲ παλαιοτέρους, ὧν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά,
 μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε, τοὺς γεραιούς.

αἰσχροὺν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
 κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
 ἤδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον,
 θυμὸν ἀποπνεύοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίῃ,

25 αἵματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα—
 αἰσχροὰ τά γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν
 ἰδεῖν—

καὶ χροὰ γυμνωθέντα· νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν,
 ὅφρ' ἐρατῆς ἡβῆς ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχῃ,

30 ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξὶ
 ζῶος ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.

ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι
 στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὀδοῦσι δακῶν.

1 ἐπὶ codd., corr. Francke 11 εἴθ' οὕτως codd., corr. Francke
 12 οὔτ' . . . οὔτ' codd. NA, οὐδ' . . . οὔτ' recc., οὐδ' . . . οὐδ' Wilamowitz, οὔτ' . . . οὐδ' Gentili-Prato τέλος codd.,
 γένεος Ahrens, οὔτ' ὅπῃς οὔτ' ἔλεος Bergk 16 αἰσχροῦς codd., corr. Sauppe
 29 θνητοῖσιν codd., θηητὸς Reiske

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there is no regard or respect for a man who wanders thus, nor yet for his family after him, let us fight with spirit for this land and let us die for our children, no longer sparing our lives. Come, you young men, stand fast at one another's side and fight, and do not start shameful flight or panic, but make the spirit in your heart strong and valiant, and do not be in love of life when you are fighting men. Do not abandon and run away from elders, whose knees are no longer nimble, men revered. For this brings shame, when an older man lies fallen among the front ranks with the young behind him, his head already white and his beard grey, breathing out his valiant spirit in the dust, clutching in his hands his bloodied genitals—this is a shameful sight and brings indignation to behold—his body naked. But for the young everything is seemly, as long as he has the splendid prime of lovely youth; while alive, men marvel at the sight of him and women feel desire, and when he has fallen among the front ranks, he is fair. Come, let everyone stand fast, with legs set well apart and both feet fixed firmly on the ground, biting his lip with his teeth.¹

¹ Critics are divided whether we have one poem or two, the second beginning at v. 15 (see n. 1 on test. 5). In spite of the initial γάρ, some treat the poem as complete.

ELEGIAC POETRY

11 Stob. 4.9.16

Τυρταίου·

- ἀλλ', Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικῆτου γένος ἐστέ,
 θαρσεῖτ'·—οὐπω Ζεὺς αὐχένα λοξὸν ἔχει—
 μηδ' ἀνδρῶν πληθὺν δειμαίνετε, μηδὲ φοβεῖσθε,
 ἰθὺς δ' ἐς προμάχους ἀσπίδ' ἀνὴρ ἔχέτω,
 5 ἐχθρὴν μὲν ψυχὴν θέμενος, θανάτου δὲ μελαίνας
 κῆρας <ὁμῶς> αὐγαῖς ἡελίοιο φίλας.
 ἴστε γὰρ ὡς Ἄρεος πολυδακρύου ἔργ' αἰδήλα,
 εὖ δ' ὀργὴν ἐδάητ' ἀργαλέου πολέμου,
 καὶ μετὰ φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγένεσθε,
 10 ὦ νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἐς κόρον ἡλάσατε.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες
 ἔς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἰέναι,
 παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι, σαοῦσι δὲ λαὸν ὀπίσσω·
 τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.
 15 οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτε ταῦτα λέγων ἀνύσειεν ἕκαστα,
 ὅσσ', ἣν αἰσχροὶ πάθη, γίνεται ἀνδρὶ κακά·
 ἀργαλέον γὰρ ὅπισθε μετάφρενόν ἐστι δαΐζειν
 ἀνδρὸς φεύγοντος δηῖω ἐν πολέμῳ·
 αἰσχροὺς δ' ἐστὶ νέκυς κατακείμενος ἐν κονίῃσι
 20 νῶτον ὅπισθ' αἰχμῇ δουρὸς ἐληλάμενος.
 ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι
 στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν,
 μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὦμους
 ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος·

TYRTAEUS

11 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Tyrtaeus:

Come, take courage, for your stock is from unconquered Heracles¹—not yet does Zeus hold his neck aslant²—and do not fear throngs of men or run in flight, but let a man hold his shield straight toward the front ranks, despising life and loving the black death-spirits no less than the rays of the sun. You know how destructive the deeds of woeful Ares are, you have learned well the nature of grim war, you have been with the pursuers and the pursued, you young men, and you have had more than your fill of both. Those who dare to stand fast at one another's side and to advance towards the front ranks in hand-to-hand conflict, they die in fewer numbers and they keep safe the troops behind them;³ but when men run away, all esteem⁴ is lost. No one could sum up in words each and every evil that befalls a man, if he suffers disgrace. For to pierce a man behind the shoulder blades as he flees in deadly combat is gruesome,⁵ and a corpse lying in the dust, with the point of a spear driven through his back from behind, is a shameful sight. Come, let everyone stand fast, with legs set well apart and both feet fixed firmly on the ground, biting his lip with his teeth, and covering thighs, shins below, chest, and shoulders with the belly of his broad shield;⁶ in his right hand let him

ELEGIAC POETRY

- 25 δεξιτερῇ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος,
 κινείτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς·
 ἔρδων δ' ὄβριμα ἔργα διδασκέσθω πολεμίζειν,
 μηδ' ἐκτὸς βελέων ἐστάτω ἀσπίδ' ἔχων,
 ἀλλὰ τις ἐγγὺς ἰὼν αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ
 30 ἢ ξίφει οὐτάζων δῆϊον ἄνδρ' ἐλέτω,
 καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θείς καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ'
 ἐρείσας,
 ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ καὶ κυνέην κυνέῃ
 καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπληγμένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω,
 ἢ ξίφεος κώπην ἢ δόρυ μακρὸν ἐλών.
 35 ὑμεῖς δ', ὧ γυμνῆτες, ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
 πτώσσοντες μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις
 δούρασί τε ξεστοῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐς αὐτούς,
 τοῖσι πανόπλοισιν πλησίον ἱστάμενοι.

4 εἰς codd., corr. Camerarius 5 ἐχθρὰν codd., corr. Bergk
 6 ὁμῶς suppl. Grotius 13 σάουσι codd., corr. Buttmann
 16 ἄν codd., corr. Valckenaer μάθη West 17 ἀρπαλέον
 Ahrens 33 πεπαλημένος codd., corr. Brunck
 34 ἔχων West 38 πανοπλίοισι(ν) codd., corr. Dindorf

12 Stob. 4.10.1 (vv. 1-14) + 6 (vv. 15-44)

Τυρταίου·

οὐτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην
 οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης,

TYRTAEUS

brandish a mighty spear and let him shake the plumed crest above his head in a fearsome manner. By doing mighty deeds let him learn how to fight and let him not stand—he has a shield—outside the range of missiles, but coming to close quarters let him strike the enemy, hitting him with long spear or sword; and also, with foot placed alongside foot and shield pressed against shield, let everyone draw near, crest to crest, helmet to helmet, and breast to breast, and fight against a man, seizing the hilt of his sword or his long spear. You light-armed men, as you crouch beneath a shield on either side, let fly with huge rocks and hurl your smooth javelins at them, standing close to those in full armour.

¹ Cf. fr. 2.13 and 19.8.

² Precise significance uncertain,

but the phrase seems to mean that Zeus has not yet turned his face away; he is still on the side of the Spartans and so there is no reason to despair.

³ Or less probably, "the future populace."

⁴ A somewhat free rendering of ἀρετή, a word which here encompasses the qualities of excellence deemed necessary for one to be an ideal soldier.

⁵ Ahrens' ἀρπαλέον 'desirable' has been adopted by some, but Tyrtaeus may be showing an aversion both to killing from behind and to being killed from behind.

⁶ For the problems presented by Tyrtaeus' description of armour and battle tactics see H. L. Lorimer, *ABSA* 42 (1947) 76-138, esp. 121-28, A. M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (Edinburgh 1964) 181-82, and P. Cartledge, *JHS* 97 (1977) 11-27.

12 Stobaeus, *Anthology*¹

From Tyrtaeus:

I would not mention or take account of a man for his prowess in running or in wrestling, not even if

ELEGIAC POETRY

- οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθός τε βίην τε,
 νικῶη δὲ θεῶν Θρηϊκίον Βορέην,
 5 οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φνὴν χαριέστερος εἴη,
 πλουτοίη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον,
 οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη,
 γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστου μειλιχόγηρυν ἔχοι,
 οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν πλὴν θούριδος ἀλκῆς·
 10 οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ
 εἰ μὴ τετλαίη μὲν ὁρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα,
 καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενος.
 ἥδ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
 κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ.
 15 ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόληί τε παντί τε δήμῳ,
 ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένη
 νωλεμέως, αἰσχροῦς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεται,
 ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος,
 θαρσύνῃ δ' ἔπесιν τὸν πλησίον ἄνδρα παρεστῶς·
 20 οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ.
 αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας
 τρηχείας, σπουδῇ δ' ἔσχεθε κῦμα μάχης.
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν,
 ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας,
 25 πολλὰ διὰ στέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης
 καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλαμένος.
 τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
 ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις,
 καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
 30 καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·

TYRTAEUS

he had the size and strength of the Cyclopes and outstripped Thracian Boreas² in the race, nor if he were more handsome than Tithonus³ in form and richer than Midas⁴ and Cinyras,⁵ nor if he were more kingly than Pelops,⁶ son of Tantalus, and had a tongue that spoke as winningly as Adrastus',⁷ nor if he had a reputation for everything save furious valour. For no man is good in war unless he can endure the sight of bloody slaughter and, standing close, can lunge at the enemy. This is excellence, this the best human prize and the fairest for a young man to win. This is a common benefit for the state and all the people, whenever a man with firm stance among the front ranks never ceases to hold his ground, is utterly unmindful of shameful flight, risking his life and displaying a steadfast spirit, and standing by the man next to him speaks encouragingly. This man is good in war. He quickly routs the bristling ranks of the enemy and by his zeal stems the tide of battle. And if he falls among the front ranks, pierced many times through his breast and bossed shield⁸ and corselet from the front, he loses his own dear life but brings glory to his city, to his people, and to his father. Young and old alike mourn him, all the city is distressed by the painful loss, and his tomb and children are pointed out among the people, and his children's children and his line after

ELEGIAC POETRY

οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ'
αὐτοῦ,

ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος,
ὄντιν' ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θούρος Ἴαρης ὀλέσῃ.

35 εἰ δὲ φύγῃ μὲν κῆρα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
νικήσας δ' αἰχμῆς ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἔλῃ,
πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν, ὁμῶς νέοι ἤδὲ παλαιοί,
πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδην,
γηράσκων δ' ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
40 βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει,
πάντες δ' ἐν θώκοισιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν
εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης οἳ τε παλαιότεροι.
ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι
πειράσθω θυμῷ μὴ μεθιεῖς πολέμου.

1 τιθείμην Plato bis, τιθείην Stob. 2 παλαισμοσύνης
cod. M 6 κινυρέοιο μάλλον codd., corr. M. Schmidt
11 ὁρᾶν Plato 629e 17 αἰσχροῦ SM (-ὸς A), corr. Bergk
44 πόλεμον codd., corr. Camerarius

13 Galen. *de plac. Hippocr. et Plat.* 3.309 sq. (p. 190 De Lacy) = SVF ii.255 von Arnim

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐξ Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου βραχέα παρεθέμην ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν ὧν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἔγραψεν,

TYRTAEUS

them. Never do his name and good fame perish, but even though he is beneath the earth he is immortal, whoever it is that furious Ares slays as he displays his prowess by standing fast and fighting for land and children. And if he escapes the doom of death that brings long sorrow and by his victory makes good his spear's splendid boast, he is honoured by all, young and old alike, many are the joys he experiences before he goes to Hades, and in his old age he stands out among the townsmen; no one seeks to deprive him of respect and his just rights, but all men at the benches yield their place to him, the young, those of his own age, and the elders. Let everyone strive now with all his heart to reach the pinnacle of this excellence, with no slackening in war.

¹ Plato, *Laws* 1.629a-630b (see test. 2), quotes vv. 1 and, with slight changes, most of 11-12 and paraphrases the contents of 1-20; in 660e-661a he again quotes v. 1 and paraphrases 1-12. We also have 13-16 in Theognis 1003-1006 (with σοφῶ in place of νέω) and much of 37-42 is repeated in Theognis 935-38.

² The North Wind. ³ A Trojan youth, brother of Priam, with whom the goddess Eos fell in love.

⁴ A Phrygian king whose touch was said to turn everything to gold.

⁵ A king of Cyprus (cf. *Iliad* 11.20 ff.).

⁶ The Peloponnese was named after him (see fr. 2.15). For a lengthy account of the main myth associated with him see Pindar, *Olympian* 1.

⁷ A king of Argos, the only one of the Seven against Thebes to survive.

⁸ See n. 6 on fr. 11.

13 Galen, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*

For just as a short time ago I cited as evidence a few passages which Chrysippus took from Homer and Hesiod,

ELEGIAC POETRY

οὕτως ἐξ Ὀρφέως καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους καὶ Τυρταίου
καὶ Στησιχόρου καὶ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐτέρων ποιητῶν
ἐπῶν μνημονεύει παμπόλλων ὁμοίαν ἔχόντων ἀτο-
πίαν, οἷον καὶ ὅταν εἴπῃ Τυρταῖον λέγοντα

αἰθωνος δὲ λέοντος ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν.

ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λέων θυμόν, ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντες
ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι Τυρταίου γιννώσκουμεν,
οὐ μὴν Χρυσίππῳ γ' ἔπρεπε παραθέσθαι τὸ ἔπος
ἀφαιρουμένῳ τοὺς λέοντας τὸν θυμόν. . . . Τυρταῖος δέ
γε, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ ἀπλῶς
εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οἱ ποιηταί, σφοδρότατον ἔχειν φησὶ
τοὺς λέοντας τὸν θυμόν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ὅστις ἂν ᾗ θυμοειδέστατος, εἰκάζουσι λέοντι.

14 Plut. *de Stoic. repugn.* 14.1039e (= SVF iii.39 von Arnim)

καὶ μὴν οὐχ ἕτερα δεῖ βιβλία διειληῆσαι τοῦ Χρυ-
σίππου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνδεικνυμένους μάχην, ἀλλ' ἐν
αὐτοῖς τούτοις ποτὲ μὲν <τὸ> τοῦ Ἀντισθένης (fr. 67
Caizzi) ἐπαινῶν προφέρεται, τὸ δεῖν κτᾶσθαι νοῦν ἢ
βρόχον, καὶ τοῦ Τυρταίου τὸ

πρὶν ἀρετῆς πελάσαι τέρμασιν ἢ θανάτου.

15-16 = 856-857 PMG

TYRTAEUS

so he mentions a great many verses from Orpheus, Empedocles, Tyrtaeus, Stesichorus, Euripides, and other poets which are similarly inept, such as when he speaks of Tyrtaeus as saying

with a tawny lion's spirit in his (your) breast.

For we all know very well that a lion has spirit, even before listening to Tyrtaeus, and it was quite inappropriate for Chrysippus to cite the verse since he denies spirit to lions. . . . But Tyrtaeus, like Homer and Hesiod and in short all poets, says that lions have the most violent spirit, and as a result they compare to a lion anyone who is extremely spirited.

14 Plutarch, *On Stoic Self-Contradictions*

And it is not necessary to unroll other books as a display of Chrysippus in conflict with himself, since in these books themselves he now cites with approval the saying of Antisthenes that there is need to acquire intelligence or the noose and that of Tyrtaeus:

before one draws near to the culmination of excellence or dies

ELEGIAC POETRY

17 Choerob. in Hephaest. (p. 196.6 Consbruch)

εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐν μέσῳ λέξεως κοινὴ καὶ ἐν
παλιμβακχείῳ, ὥς καὶ παρὰ Τυρταίῳ

-υυ ἥρῳες -υυ -υυ -υυ --

οὕτω γὰρ ἔλαβε τὸν δεύτερον πόδα τοῦ στίχου.

18-23 P. Berol. 11675, ed. Wilamowitz

18 P. Berol. 11675 fr. A col. i

ἀ]γαλλομένη

]α καὶ κροκόεντα

desunt versus tres

6]πυ[..(.)].[.]ν
τερ]άεσσι Διός

19 P. Berol. 11675 fr. A col. ii

].οσ[

-τ]ῆράς τε λίθων κα[ι

]ν ἔθνεσιν εἶδομ[ένους

βρ]οτολοιγὸς Ἄρης ακ[

5]ιθείηι, τοὺς δ' ὑπερα[

]ν εἰκότες ἦ[

]αι κοίλῃσι ἀσπίσι φραξάμ[ενοι,

χωρὶς Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Ὑλλεῖς ἠδ[ὲ Δυμᾶνες,

ἀνδροφόνους μελίας χερσὶν ἀν[ασχόμενοι.

10]δ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐπὶ πάντ[α τρέποντες

TYRTAEUS

17 Choeroboscus on Hephaestion

A common syllable¹ is generally found in the middle of a word and in a palimbacchius (— — ∪), as in Tyrtaeus

heroes

since this is how he scanned the second foot of the line.

¹ I.e., one capable of being either long or short.

18-23 Berlin papyrus (3rd c. B.C.)¹

¹ It seems likely that more than one poem is represented by the fragments. Unless otherwise indicated, the supplements are those of Wilamowitz.

18 Same papyrus

... she exulting ... and saffron-coloured (dress?) ...
portents of Zeus

19 Same papyrus

... hurlers(?) of stones and ... like hordes of
wasps(?) ... Ares, the bane of men, ... like ... mak-
ing a fence with hollow shields,¹ Pamphyloi, Hylleis,
and (Dymanes)² separately, brandishing in their
(your?) hands murderous spears of ash. ... (entrust-
ing) everything to the immortal gods ... we will

ELEGIAC POETRY

....]ατερμ...ιηι πεισόμεθ' ἤγεμ[ό
 ἀλλ' εὐθὺς σύμπαντες ἀλοιησέο[μεν
 ἀ]νδράσιν αἰχμηταῖς ἐγγύθεν ἰσ[τάμενοι.
 δεινὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔσται κτύπος[
 15 ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους ἀσπίσι τυπτ[
]ήσουσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι π[εσόντες·
 θώρηκε]ς δ' ἀνδρῶν στήθεσιν ἀμ[φι
 λοιγὸ]ν ἐρωήσουσιν ἐρεικόμενοι[ι
 αἱ δ' ὑπὸ] χερμαδίων βαλλόμεναι μ[εγάλων
 20 χάλκεια]ι κ[όρυ]θες καναχὴν ἔξου[σι

2 βλητ]ήρας Snell fin. τοξότας ἀνδρας West
 3 σφηκῶ]ν Sitzler 5 ἰθείη vel]ι θείη 8 Ὑλλέες Snell
 10 οὕτω] Wil., οὕπω] West 11 ὄκνου] ἄτερ μονίη . . .
 ἤγεμ[όνων Wil. 12 ἀλοιησευ[pap., corr. West
 15 τυπτ[ομένων Wil. 16 fin. Lobel 18 λοιγὸ]ν West

20 P. Berol. 11675 fr. B col. i

Διωνύσο]ιο τιθήνηι
 -κό]μου Σεμέλης
]ωεμψ.[...]σει
]
 5].[]
]μεν]η[]
]εικελον[]

]α φέρειν
 ἀ]εθλοφ[ό]ροι περὶ νίκης
 10 τέ]ρμ' ἐπιδερκόμενοι

TYRTAEUS

obey the . . . of our leader(s). But all together at once we will crush . . ., standing close to the spearmen.³ The din will be terrible . . . as both sides dash(?) round shields against shields (and?) falling upon each other they will . . .; and (corselets) on men's breasts, though rent . . ., will ward off (destruction) (and the bronze) helmets, struck (by huge) stones, will ring out . . .

¹ See n. 6 on fr. 11. ² The three Dorian tribes, said to be descended from Hyllus, son of Heracles, and the two sons of Aegimius, whose father was Dorus, eponym of the Dorians. See n. 2 on fr. 2. ³ Probably the enemy rather than fellow Spartans.

20 Same papyrus

. . . nurse of Dionysus¹ . . . of (fair)-haired Semele² . . .(like?) prize-winning (horses?)³ . . . with our eyes on the goal (we will vie?) for victory . . . conveying a

ELEGIAC POETRY

καλ]λίτροχον ἄρμα φέροντες
]όμενοι
]εύοντας ὅπισθεν
]χαίτας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς
15]συννοίσομεν ὁξὺν ἄρῃα
].θεσιν.[.].[]
ο]ὐδὲ λογήσει
]σέχων

1 *τιθήνηι* vel *-ην* vel *-ης* 2 *καλλικό]μου* Wil.
11 *καλ]λίτροχον* West 13 *ν]εύοντας* vel *χ]εύοντας* West

21-22 P. Berol. 11675 fr. B col. ii, fr. C col. i

23 P. Berol. 11675 fr. C col. ii

ο. [...] στευο[
 ἐξείης πα[
 τείχος α. [...] οστη[
 οισ. μπαλλομε[
 5 κλήρος καὶ ταφ[
 Μεσσηνίων[
 τείχος τερυ[
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ β[
 ἀντίοι ἰστ[α
 10 οἱ δ' ἐκτὸς [βελέων
 ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἡμεῖς σ.[
 πύργου δυ[
 λείψουσ' ἰλη[δὸν

TYRTAEUS

well-wheeled chariot . . . behind . . . hair above the head⁴ . . . we will engage in keenly contested war . . . and (he?) will take no account of . . .

¹ Perhaps Mt. Nyssa (cf. Terpander fr. 9 Campbell).

² Mother of Dionysus.

³ Perhaps a simile resembling that of *Iliad* 22.162 ff.

⁴ Presumably either the mane above the horse's head or the helmet plumes above a soldier's head.

21-22 Same papyrus

Fr. 21 consists of only the first few letters of 17 verses. There is a reference to fighting and vv. 5 and 7 begin with ἀργεσ[τ] "clearing," an epithet of the south wind in *Il.* 11.306 and of the west wind in Hes. *Theog.* 379. The repetition suggests a simile, perhaps comparing the scattering of the enemy to the clearing effects of the wind. Fr. 22 contains only five letters.

23 Same papyrus

. . . one after another . . . wall . . . allotment of land and (grave?) . . . of the Messenians . . . wall . . . for some . . . stand(ing) face to face . . . and other's outside (the range of missiles) . . . and in the middle we . . . of a tower . . . they will leave in throngs . . . and as

ELEGIAC POETRY

οἱ δ' ὥς ἐκ πο[
 15 κυ[.]αδ[
 τοῖς ἵκελοι μ[
 Ἥρης αἰδοίης [
 εὖτ' ἂν Τυνδαρί[δαι

5 τάφ[ος West, τάφ[ρος Wilamowitz 10 suppl. West (coll. fr. 11.28)

23a P. Oxy. xlvii.3316, ed. Haslam

10 .]...[.]ενων[...].χει βέλε' ἄγρ[ια
 γλαυκῶπις θυ[γ]άτηρ αἰγινόχ[οιο Διός.
 πολλοὶ δὲ ξυστοῖσιν ἀκοντισσ[
 α]ἰχμῆις ὀξείηις ἄνδρες ἐπισ[
 γ]υμνομάχοι προθέ[ο]ντες ὑπ[
 15 ..]καδες Ἀργείων νυνελ[....]χ[
 ...].ιμεν παρὰ τείχ[ος
]θιησιν ὕδωρ ..[
]παρ' Ἀθηναίης γ[λαυκώπιδος
 ...].ψαντ[.]τάφρο[.
 20 πάντ]ας μὲν κτενέουσ[ι
 Σπα]ρτιητέων ὀπόσου[ς
 ἐξ]οπίσω φεύγοντας α[

10 ἴ]σχει West fin. Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη Gentili-Prato

15 Ἀρ]κάδες Haslam Ἀργείω(ι) νῦν? Haslam

24 = test. 9.7-8

TYRTAEUS

those from . . . like them . . . of august Hera . . . whenever the Tyndaridae¹ . . .

¹ Castor and Pollux.

23a Oxyrhynchus papyrus (early 3rd c. A.D.)¹

. . . the grey-eyed daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus (checks?) the savage missiles. Many (will?) let fly with javelins . . . sharp points² . . . the light-armed men running forward . . . Arcadians(?) . . . of the Argives(?)³ . . . along the wall . . . water . . . from (grey-eyed) Athena . . . trench⁴ . . . they will kill all . . . of the Spartans as many as . . . fleeing in retreat. . .

¹ I have omitted the first nine verses, which are too mutilated to be translated.

² It is not clear whether these are spear points or the sharp points of the javelins.

³ The Argives and apparently the Arcadians are mentioned in fr. 8 as allies of the Messenians, but the historicity of an Argive alliance has been questioned by K. Tausend, *Tyche* 8 (1993) 197-201.

⁴ Cf. fr. 9.

MIMNERMUS

TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda* (iii.397.20 Adler)

Μίμνερμος Λιγυρτυάδου, Κολοφώνιος ἢ Σμυρναῖος ἢ Ἀστυπαιεύς, ἐλεγειοποιός. γέγονε δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λζ' ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς προτερεύειν τῶν ζ' σοφῶν· τινὲς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ συγχρονεῖν λέγουσιν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Λιγυραστάδης διὰ τὸ ἐμμελὲς καὶ λιγύ. ἔγραψε βιβλία ἑταῦτα πολλά.

2 *Strabo* 14.1.28

ἄνδρες δ' ἐγένοντο Κολοφώνιοι τῶν μνημονευομένων Μίμνερμος, αὐλητῆς ἅμα καὶ ποιητῆς ἐλεγείας, καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ φυσικὸς . . .

¹ See n. 1 on test. 1. Several other sources also refer to Mimnermus as a Colophonian (testt. 6, 18, 19 *Gent.-Pr.* and test. 10 below).

MIMNERMUS

TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda*

Mimnermus, son of Ligyrtiades, from Colophon or Smyrna or Astypalaea,¹ an elegiac poet. He flourished in the 37th Olympiad (632-29) and so is earlier than the Seven Sages, although some say that he was their contemporary. He was also called Ligyaistades² because of his harmonious clarity. He wrote . . . books.³

¹ An island in the southern Aegean and clearly an error (see Allen 13 n. 17). Fr. 9 strongly suggests that he was from Smyrna and the mention of both Colophon and Smyrna in that fragment may have contributed to the confusion.

² Probably derived from Solon fr. 20.3.

³ For possible restorations of the corruption (lit. "these many books") see Allen 23 n. 9. Perhaps the text originally said something like "He wrote two books containing many poems."

2 Strabo, *Geography*

Among the Colophonians¹ who are remembered there were Mimnermus, who was both a pipe-player and an elegiac poet, and Xenophanes the natural philosopher . . .

ELEGIAC POETRY

3 Ath. 13.597a

παρέλιπον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μιμνέρμου αὐλητρίδα Ναννώ
καὶ τὴν Ἑρμησιάνακτος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου Λεόντιον.

4 Hermesian. fr. 7.35-40 Powell ap. Ath. 13.597f

- 35 Μίμνερμος δέ, τὸν ἡδὺν ὃς εὗρετο πολλὸν
ἀνατλὰς
ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου,
καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς, πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῶ
κνημωθεὶς κώμους εἶχε σὺν Ἑξαμύῃ·
†ἡδ' ἦχθεε† δ' Ἑρμόβιον τὸν αἰεὶ βαρὺν ἡδὲ
Φερεκλῆν
40 ἐχθρόν, μισήσας οἱ' ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.

5 Anth. Pal. 12.168.1-2 = HE 3086-87 (Ποσιδίππου)

Ναννοῦς καὶ Λύδης ἐπὶ χεὶ δύο, καὶ †φερεκάστου
Μιμνέρμου καὶ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου.

1 φιλεράστου Jacobs, φιλέρωτος Allen

MIMNERMUS

3 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

I have also omitted Mimnermus' pipe-player Nanno and the Leontion of Hermesianax¹ of Colophon.

¹ A Hellenistic poet who wrote three books of elegies on his mistress Leontion, including a catalogue of the love affairs of poets and philosophers (see test. 4 below).

4 Hermesianax

And Mimnermus, who after much suffering¹ discovered the sweet sound and breath given off by the soft pentameter, was on fire for Nanno, and often with his lips encircled(?) on the grey lotus-pipe he would hold revel with Examyas. But he . . . the ever grievous Hermobius and hostile Pherecles,² hating the kind of verses he (Pherecles?) sent forth.

¹ If correctly translated, this implies that he took up poetry as a result of unhappy love affairs, but perhaps the meaning is "after much perseverance." ² Possibly Hermobius resisted Mimnermus' advances, but responded to the love poetry of Pherecles. For attempts to restore the introductory verb see Allen 19.

5 *Palatine Anthology* (Posidippus)

Pour in two (ladles) of Nanno and Lyde, two of amorous(?) Mimnermus and the temperate Antimachus.¹

¹ Antimachus of Colophon (5th-4th c. B.C.) composed an elegiac poem celebrating his love for Lyde.

ELEGIAC POETRY

6 Alex. Aet. fr. 5.4-5 Powell ap. Ath. 15.699b

Μιμνέρμου δ' εἰς ἔπος ἄκρον ἰὼν
παιδομανεῖ σὺν ἔρωτι †πότην ἴσων†.

5 παιδομανῆς ἐν ἔρωτι Schweighäuser ποτ' ἦν idem

7 Ps.-Plut. *de musica* 8.1133f = Hipponax fr. 153 W.

καὶ ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος νόμος καλούμενος Κρα-
δίας, ὃν φησιν Ἰππῶναξ Μίμνερμον αὐλῆσαι. ἐν ἀρ-
χῇ γὰρ ἐλεγεία μεμελοποιημένα οἱ αὐλῶδοι ᾄδον.

8 Ath. 14.620c

Χαμαιλέων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Στησιχόρου (fr. 28 Wehrli)
καὶ μελωδηθῆναί φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὀμήρου ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου καὶ
Φωκυλίδου.

9 Porph. in Hor. *epist.* 2.2.101 (p. 399 Holder)

Mimnermus duos libros †luculentibust† scripsit.

luculenti<s versi>bus Garzya

MIMNERMUS

6 Alexander Aetolus

And following Mimnermus' verses to the full with his mad love for boys he¹ . . .

¹ The subject is Boeotus, a Sicilian writer of parodies. In spite of the textual uncertainties the passage alludes clearly to pederastic verse in Mimnermus' poetry (cf. fr. 1.9).

7 Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music*

And there is also another ancient melody called Cradias,¹ which Hipponax says Mimnermus performed on the pipe. For in the beginning those who sang to the pipe sang elegies set to music.

¹ Literally 'melody of the fig branch.' Hesychius s.v. explains it as "a melody they pipe over those escorted out as scapegoats, whipped with fig branches and fig leaves."

8 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Chamaeleon in his work *On Stesichorus* says that not only Homer's verses were set to music but also those of Hesiod and Archilochus and in addition Mimnermus and Phocylides.

9 Porphyrio on Horace, *Epistles*

Mimnermus wrote two books¹ of splendid verses(?).

¹ Our only source for the number of Mimnermus' books in the Alexandrian edition.

ELEGIAC POETRY

10 Callim. *Aetia* fr. 1.11-12 Pf.

τοῖν δὲ] δυοῖν Μίμνερμος ὅτι γλυκύς, αἰ κατὰ
λεπτὸν

.....] ἡ μεγάλη δ' οὐκ ἐδίδαξε γυνή.

12 ῥήσιες suppl. Rostagni, κῶραί γ' Allen

Schol. Flor. ad loc.

παρα]τίθεται τε ἐν σ(υγ)κρίσει τὰ ὀλίγων στί[χ(ων)
ὄν]τα ποιήματα Μιμνέρμου τοῦ Κο[λοφω]νίου καὶ
Φιλίτα τοῦ Κῶου βελτίονα [τ(ῶν) πολ]υστίχων αὐ-
τ(ῶν) φάσκων εἶναι [...

11 Hor. *epist.* 1.6.65-66

si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque
nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.

Porph. ad loc. (p. 235 Holder)

Mimnermus elegiarum scriptor fuit. amores plus incom-
modi quam gaudia habere demonstrat.

12 Prop. 1.9.11-12

plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero:
carmina mansuetus lenia quaerit Amor.

MIMNERMUS

10 Callimachus, *Aetia*

Of the two (types of poetry) it was his slender (verses?), not the big lady, that revealed Mimnermus' sweetness.

Florentine scholia on the passage

He places in comparison the poems of a few lines of Mimnermus the Colophonian and of Philetas the Coan, declaring that they are better than their own poems of many lines.¹

¹ The two verses of Callimachus (together with the surrounding verses omitted here) and the remarks of the scholiast have been the subject of much controversy, which is conveniently summarized by Allen 146-56. I have adopted his conclusions, namely, that 'the big lady' is the *Smyrneis* (cf. fr. 13A) and 'the slender verses' the short poems making up the *Nanno*.

11 Horace, *Epistles*

If, as Mimnermus believes, there is no joy without love and jests,¹ may you live amid love and jests.

Porphyrion on the passage

Mimnermus was a writer of elegies. He shows that love affairs involve more trouble than joy.

¹ Cf. fr. 1.1.

12 Propertius

In love the verses of Mimnermus prevail over those of Homer. Gentle love calls for soft songs.

See also Callinus test. 2.

ELEGIAC POETRY

FRAGMENTS

1 Stob. 4.20.16

Μιμνέρμουν·

τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσέης
Ἀφροδίτης;

τεθναίην, ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι,
κρυπταδίῃ φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνή,
οἷ' ἥβης ἄνθεα γίνεται ἄρπαλέα

5 ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξίν· ἐπεὶ δ' ὀδυνηρὸν ἐπέλθη
γῆρας, ὃ τ' αἰσχροὺς ὅμως καὶ καλὸν ἄνδρα
τιθεῖ,

αἰεὶ μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι,
οὐδ' αὐγὰς προσορέων τέρπεται ἡελίου,

10 ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸς μὲν παισίν, ἀτίμαστος δὲ γυναιξίν·
οὕτως ἀργαλέον γῆρας ἔθηκε θεός.

Plut. *de virt. mor.* 6.445f

ἀκολάστων μὲν γὰρ αἶδε φωναί· “τίς . . . μέλοι.”

1 χάρις pro βίος Plut.
Brunck 2 μέλει Plut.

5 τ' codd., corr. Gesner

7 μὲν codd., corr. Bergk
West

ἀνευ Plut. χρυσῆς codd., corr.

4 οἱ M, εἰ A: οἷ' Bergk, οἷ' Ahrens

6 ὁμῶς καὶ κακὸν Hermann

8 προσορῶν codd., corr. dub.

MIMNERMUS
FRAGMENTS

1 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Mimnermus:

What life is there, what pleasure without golden
Aphrodite? May I die when I no longer care about
secret intrigues, persuasive gifts, and the bed,¹ those
blossoms of youth that men and women find al-
luring. But when painful old age comes on, which
makes even a handsome man ugly, grievous cares
wear away his heart and he derives no joy from
looking upon the sunlight; he is hateful to boys and
women hold him in no honour. So harsh has the god²
made old age.

Plutarch, *On Moral Virtue*

These are the utterances of intemperate people (vv. 1-2).

¹ On v. 3 see C. M. Dawson, *YCS* 19 (1966) 49.
sumably Zeus in view of fr. 2.16.

² Pre-

ELEGIAC POETRY

2 Stob. 4.34.12

Μιμνέρμον·

- ἡμεῖς δ', οἷά τε φύλλα φύει πολυάνθεμος ὥρη
 ἔαρος, ὅτ' αἰψ' αὐγῆς αὖξεται ἡελίου,
 τοῖς ἵκελοι πήχυιον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄνθουσιν ἥβης
 τερπόμεθα, πρὸς θεῶν εἰδότες οὔτε κακὸν
 5 οὔτ' ἀγαθόν· Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι,
 ἥ μὲν ἔχουσα τέλος γήραος ἀργαλέον,
 ἥ δ' ἐτέρη θανάτοιο· μίνυνθα δὲ γίνεται ἥβης
 καρπός, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ γῆν κίδναται ἡέλιος.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ τοῦτο τέλος παραμείψεται ὥρης,
 10 αὐτίκα δὴ τεθνάναι βέλτιον ἢ βίος·
 πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν θυμῷ κακὰ γίνεται· ἄλλοτε οἶκος
 τρυχοῦται, πενίης δ' ἔργ' ὀδυνηρὰ πέλει·
 ἄλλος δ' αὖ παίδων ἐπιδεύεται, ὧν τε μάλιστα
 ἱμείρων κατὰ γῆς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδην·
 15 ἄλλος νοῦσον ἔχει θυμοφθόρον· οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν
 ἀνθρώπων ᾧ Ζεὺς μὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδοῖ.

1 πολυανθέος ὥρη (-άνθεος A) Bergk 2 αὐγῇ codd.,
 corr. Schneidewin 10 αὐτίκα τεθνάμεναι Bach, prob.
 Gent.-Pr. βέλτερον Friis Johansen et Allen

3 Stob. 4.50.32

Μιμνέρμον SM (Μενάνδρου A)·

τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν κάλλιστος, ἐπὴν παραμείψεται ὥρη,
 οὐδέ πατὴρ παισὶν τίμιος οὔτε φίλος.

MIMNERMUS

2 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Mimnermus:

We are like the leaves which the flowery season of spring brings forth, when they quickly grow beneath the rays of the sun; like them we delight in the flowers of youth for an arm's length of time, knowing neither the bad nor the good that comes from the gods.¹ But the dark spirits of doom stand beside us, one holding grievous old age as the outcome, the other death. Youth's fruit is short-lived, lasting as long as the sunlight spreads over the earth.² And when the end of this season passes by, straightway death is better than life. For many are the miseries that beset one's heart. Sometimes a man's estate wastes away and a painful life of poverty is his; another in turn lacks sons and longing for them most of all he goes beneath the earth to Hades; another has soul-destroying illness. There is no one to whom Zeus does not give a multitude of ills.

¹ Precise meaning debated, but perhaps a reference to life's changing fortunes, which cannot be known in advance.

² I.e., for a day.

3 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Mimnermus:

When his season (of youth) passes, not even a father who was once most handsome is honoured or loved by his sons.

ELEGIAC POETRY

4 Stob. 4.50.68

Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς·

Τιθωνῷ μὲν ἔδωκεν ἔχειν κακὸν ἄφθιτον < >
γῆρας, ὃ καὶ θανάτου ρίγιον ἀργαλέον.

1 σχεῖν codd., corr. Gesner fin. ὁ Ζεὺς suppl. Gesner, αἰεὶ
Schneidewin

5 Stob. 4.50.69

Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς·

ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον γίνεται ὥσπερ ὄναρ
ἤβη τιμήεσσα· τὸ δ' ἀργαλέον καὶ ἄμορφον
γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' ὑπερκρέμεται,
ἐχθρὸν ὁμῶς καὶ ἄτιμον, ὃ τ' ἄγνωστον τιθεῖ
ἄνδρα,

5 βλάπτει δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ νόον ἀμφιχυθέν.

2 οὐλόμενον pro ἀργαλέον Theognis 3 αὐτίχ' ὑπὲρ
κεφαλῆς γῆρας Theognis

6 Diog. Laert. 1.60

φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν (sc. Σόλωνα) καὶ Μιμνέρμου γράψαντος

αἱ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων
μελεδωνέων

ἐξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου,

ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν· (Sol. fr. 20).

1 μελεδώνων codd., corr. Cobet

MIMNERMUS

4 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Mimnermus' *Nanno*:

He¹ gave Tithonus² an everlasting evil, old age,
which is more terrible than even woeful death.

¹ No doubt Zeus. ² Brother of Priam and loved by Eos,
who asked Zeus to make him immortal, but neglected to ask for
eternal youth as well.

5 Stobaeus, *Anthology*¹

From Mimnermus' *Nanno*

But precious youth is like a fleeting dream; in no
time grievous and hideous old age, hateful as well as
dishonoured, hangs over one's head. It makes a man
unrecognisable and hampers eyes and mind when it
is poured round.

¹ Vv. 1-3 also appear as Theognis 1020-22 and some, including West, assign the three preceding verses in Theognis to Mimnermus. Gentili-Prato combine fr. 4 and 5, with a lacuna after fr. 4. For opposition to both views see Allen 59-61.

6 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

They say that when Mimnermus wrote

Would that my fated death might come at sixty, un-
attended by sickness and grievous cares,

Solon rebuked him, saying (fr. 20).

ELEGIAC POETRY

7 *Anth. Pal.* 9.50 (Μιμνέρμου. παραίνεσις εἰς τὸ ἀνέτως ζῆν) = *Theognis* 795-96

σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε· δυσηλεγέων δὲ πολιτέων
ἄλλος τίς σε κακῶς, ἄλλος ἄμεινον ἐρεῖ.

1 τὴν σαυτοῦ . . . πολιτῶν codd., corr. Renner 2 τοῖσε,
τοῖσδε codd. *Theogn.* ἄμείνον' *Anth. Pal.*, ἄμείνον v.l. *Theogn.*

8 *Stob.* 3.11.2

Μιμνέρμου (Μενάνδρου codd., corr. Gaisford) Ναννοῦς

ἀληθείη δὲ παρέστω
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, πάντων χρῆμα δικαιοτάτον.

9 *Strabo* 14.1.4

ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἐκπεσόντες κατέφυγον εἰς
Κολοφῶνα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐπιόντες τὴν σφετέ-
ραν ἀπέλαβον, καθάπερ καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ
φράζει, μνησθεὶς τῆς Σμύρνης ὅτι περιμάχητος αἰεί·

ταῖπύτε† Πύλον Νηληϊῖον ἄστυ λιπόντες
ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα,
ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
ἐζόμεθ', ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες·

MIMNERMUS

7 *Palatine Anthology*

From Mimnermus. An exhortation to live intemperately.

Enjoy yourself. Some of the harsh citizens will speak ill of you, some better.¹

¹ All will be critical, differing only in the degree of criticism.

8 *Stobaeus, Anthology*

From Mimnermus' *Nanno*

Let there be truth between you and me; of all possessions it is the most just.¹

¹ 'Justice' or fairness in an erotic relationship signifies reciprocal affection, and truth is an essential requirement for this to take place.

9 *Strabo, Geography*

Later, upon being expelled by the Aeolians, they (the Smyrnaeans) fled to Colophon and upon attacking their own land with the Colophonians they regained it, as Mimnermus states in his *Nanno*, after mentioning that Smyrna was always an object of contention:

. . .¹ leaving Pylos, the city of Neleus, we came on our ships to longed-for Asia and with overwhelming force we settled in lovely Colophon, the instigators of harsh aggression; and setting out from there,

ELEGIAC POETRY

5 κείθεν †διαστήεντος† ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο
 θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην εἵλομεν Αἰολίδα.

1 αἰπύτε vel ἐπεὶ τε codd., αἰπεῖάν τε Hiller, Αἰπὺ < > τε West,
 αἶψα δ' ἔπειτα Allen, alii alia Πύλου Bergk, prob. Allen
 3 δ' ἄρα τὴν codd., corr. Wyttenbach 5 δ' Ἀλήεντος
 Brunck, prob. Allen, δ' αὖτε Μέλητος Cook, alii alia
 6 εἶδομεν codd., corr. Brunck

10 Strabo 14.1.3

Κολοφῶνα δὲ Ἀνδραίμων Πύλιος (κτίζει), ὥς φησι καὶ
 Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ.

11 Strabo 1.2.40

εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ ὁ Σκήψιός φησι (fr. 50 Gaede) παραλαβὼν
 μάρτυρα Μίμνερμον, ὃς ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ ποιήσας τὴν
 οἴκησιν τοῦ Αἰήτου πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐκτὸς
 πεμφθῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελίου τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ
 κομίσαι τὸ δέρος, οὗτ' ἂν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ δέρος ἐκείσε πομπὴν
 πιθανῶς λέγοιτο εἰς ἀγνώτας καὶ ἀφανεῖς τόπους, οὗθ'
 ὁ δι' ἐρήμων καὶ ἀοίκων καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτον
 ἐκτετοπισμένων πλοῦς οὗτ' ἔνδοξος οὔτε πασιμέλων.

οὐδέ κοτ' ἂν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων
 ἐξ Αἴης τελέσας ἀλγινόεσσαν ὁδόν,

MIMNERMUS

from the river . . .,² by the will of the gods we captured Aeolian Smyrna.

¹ Some see here a mention of Αἰπύ, a town in Messenia. This is defended by C. Brillante in *Scritti . . . Gentili I* (Rome 1993) 267-78 who however locates both Aipy and Pylos in Triphylia, northwest of Messenia. For a full discussion of both textual and historical problems in the fragment see Allen 75-85. ² The

corruption must conceal the name of the river. The two candidates, Meles and Ales, both present problems. The Meles is near Smyrna, not Colophon, and the Ales is south of Colophon, whereas Smyrna lies to the north.

10 Strabo, *Geography*

Andraemon of Pylos¹ founded Colophon, as Mimnermus says in his *Nanno*.

¹ Presumably the leader of the colonizing expedition mentioned in fr. 9.1.

11 Strabo, *Geography*

But if it is as Demetrius of Scepsis states, calling upon the authority of Mimnermus who places the dwelling of Aeetes in Oceanus far out at the rising of the sun and says that Jason was sent by Pelias and brought back the fleece, the expedition for it there, to unknown and obscure regions, would not sound plausible, and a voyage through desolate, uninhabited territory so far removed from us would be neither famous nor of interest to everyone.

Jason would never have brought back the great fleece from Aea¹ on his own² at the end of a painful

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ὑβριστῇ Πελίῃ τελέων χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον,
οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῦ καλὸν ἵκοντο ῥόον.

1 οὐδ' ὁκόταν codd., corr. Porson μετὰ codd., corr.
Brunck

11a Pergit Strabo

καὶ ὑποβάς·

Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο
 ἀκτῖνες χρυσέῳ κείαται ἐν θαλάμῳ
 Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος, ἔν' ὥχετο θεῖος Ἴήσων.

3 χείλεσιν codd. (χείλεσ' ἔν' ed. Ald.), corr. Bergk

12 Ath. 11.470a

Μίνερμος δὲ Ναννοῖ ἐν εὐνῇ φησι χρυσῇ κατεσκευασμένην πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἑφαιίστου τὸν ἥλιον καθεύδοντα περαιουῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, αἰνισσόμενος τὸ κοῖλον τοῦ ποτηρίου. λέγει δὲ οὕτως·

Ἡέλιος μὲν γὰρ ἔλαχεν πόνον ἥματα πάντα,
οὐδέ ποτ' ἄμπαυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία
ἵπποισιν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπὴν ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως
Ὠκεανὸν προλιποῦσ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβῇ.

5 τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ κῦμα φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνή,
κοίλῃ, Ἑφαιίστου χερσὶν ἐληλαμένη,

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journey, completing for the insolent Pelias an ordeal fraught with difficulty, nor would they have reached the fair stream of Oceanus.³

¹ Apparently identified here with Colchis, the traditional home of Aeetes at the eastern end of the Black Sea. Homer uses the adjectival equivalent (*Aiaínē*) of Circe's island (*Od.* 10.135, 12.3) and Circe was the sister of Aeetes.

² Probably an allusion to Hera's aid rather than to Medea's or Aphrodite's, since the latter two had nothing to do with the arrival at Oceanus (v. 4).

³ Chronological order is inverted in order to give prominence to recovery of the fleece.

11a Strabo continues

And further on:

Aeetes' city, where the rays of the swift Sun¹ lie in a golden storeroom at the edge of Oceanus, where god-like Jason went.

¹ The Sun was Aeetes' father.

12 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

In *Nanno* Mimnermus says that the Sun is conveyed to the place of his rising while he sleeps in a golden bed constructed for this purpose by Hephaestus. Mimnermus hints at the hollow shape of the cup, speaking as follows:

For the Sun's lot is toil every day and there is never any respite for him and his horses, from the moment rose-fingered Dawn leaves Oceanus and goes up into the sky. A lovely bed, hollow, forged by the hands of Hephaestus, of precious gold and winged,

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- 10 χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος, ὑπόπτερος, ἄκρον ἐφ' ὕδωρ
 εὔδονθ' ἄρπαλέως χώρου ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων
 γαῖαν ἐς Αἰθιοπῶν, ἵνα δὴ θοὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι
 ἐστᾶσ', ὅφρ' Ἥως ἡριγένεια μόλη·
 ἐνθ' ἐπέβη ἐτέρων ὀχέων Ὑπερίονος υἱός.

Philod. *de pietate* (P. Hercul. 1088 fr. 2 ii + 433 fr. 2 i; I. Boserup, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 110; A. Schober, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 18 (1988) 93) = fr. 23 W.

[. . . καὶ τὸν] Ἥλιον [καὶ ἄλλους] τινὰς [θεοὺς
 πολυ]μόχθο[υς πεποιή]κασι . . . Μί]μνερ[μος] μ[ὲν οὐ
 δι]αφωνεῖν δ[οκ]εῖ, [κα]θ' ἐ[σ]κάστ[η]ν [νύκ]τα καθ-
 εὐ[δειν αὐ]τὸν λέγων.

1 λέλαχεν Hoffmann, πόνον ἔλλαχεν Hermann 2 κοτ'
 Bach 6 κοίλη codd., corr. Meineke: ποικίλη Kaibel, prob.
 West 7 ὑπόπτερον A, corr. Heyne 8 εὔδονθ' ὅθ' A,
 corr. Musurus χοροῦ A, corr. Musurus 9 ἵν' ἀληθοον
 A, corr. Meineke 11 σφετέρων Bergk, ἐπεβήσεθ' ἑῶν
 Schneidewin, prob. Gent.-Pr.

13 Paus. 9.29.4

Μίμνερμος δὲ ἐλεγεία ἐς τὴν μάχην ποιήσας τὴν
 Σμυρναίων πρὸς Γύγην τε καὶ Λυδούς, φησὶν ἐν τῷ
 προοιμίῳ θυγατέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιοτέρας Μού-
 σας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας.

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carries him, as he sleeps soundly, over the waves on the water's surface from the place of the Hesperides¹ to the land of the Ethiopians,² where his swift chariot and horses stand³ until early-born Dawn comes. There the son of Hyperion mounts his other vehicle.⁴

Philodemus, *On Piety*

. . . they have represented the Sun and some other gods as enduring much toil . . . Mimnermus does not seem to disagree, since he says that the Sun sleeps every night.

¹ Daughters of Night (Hes. *Theog.* 213) who guarded golden apples in the far west.

² Here a mythical race located in the far east.

³ It is unclear whether Mimnermus assumes that the Sun had a new chariot and horses every day or that they somehow got back to the east while the Sun slept. The poet does not suggest that they were also in the 'bed.'

⁴ I.e., other than his bed, if the text is sound.

13 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

Mimnermus, who composed elegiac verses on the battle of the Smyrnaeans with Gyges and the Lydians, says in the preface that the more ancient Muses are daughters of Ouranos (Sky)¹ and that the other, younger Muses are children of Zeus.

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Comm. in Alcman., P. Oxy. 2390 fr. 2 col. ii 28-29 (5 fr. 2 *PMGF*, 81 Calame)

Γῆς [μὲν] Μούσα[ς] θυγατέρας ὥς Μίμνερμ[ος]]τας
ἐγε[νεαλόγησε.

13a Comm. in Antim., P. Univ. Mediol. 17 col. ii 26
(p. 276 Matthews), ed. Vogliano

“σ[υνάγε]ιν (suppl. West) δμω[ῆ]ισ’ ἐνδέξεται” (Antim.
fr. 105 Matthews)· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπ[ιτ]άξῃ<ι>. Μίμνερμ[ος]
δ’ [ἐν] τῇ Σμυρν[η]ῖδι·

ὥς οἱ παρ βασιλῆος, ἐπε[ί ρ’] ἐ[ν]εδέξατο
μῦθον[ν],
ἧ[ῖξ]αν κοίλῃ[ς ἀ]σπίσι φραζάμενοι.

1 ρ’ vel τ’ suppl. Maas

2 Vogliano

14 Stob. 3.7.11

Μιμνέρμον·

οὐ μὲν δὴ κείνου γε μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμὸν
τοῖον ἐμέο προτέρων πεύθομαι, οἳ μιν ἴδον
Λυδῶν ἵππομάχων πυκινὰς κλονέοντα φάλαγγας
Ἑρμιον ἄμ πεδίου, φῶτα φερεμμελίην·
5 τοῦ μὲν ἄρ’ οὐ ποτε πάμπαν ἐμέμψατο Παλλὰς
Ἀθήνη
δριμὺ μένος κραδίης, εὖθ’ ὃ γ’ ἀνὰ προμάχους

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Oxyrhynchus papyrus commentary on Alcman (2nd c. A.D.)

In the genealogy given by Mimnermus, the Muses are daughters of Ge (Earth).

¹ The same genealogy is attributed to Mimnermus and Alcman by schol. 16b on Pind. *Nem.* 3 (iii.43.19 Dr.). Cf. also Diod. Sic. 4.7.1.

13a Milan papyrus commentary on Antimachus

“(so that?) he (she) might order the servant women to bring together,” with ἐνδέξεται instead of ἐπιτάξῃ ‘order.’ Compare Mimnermus in *Smyrneis*:

So the king’s¹ men charged, when he gave the word of command, making a fence with their hollow shields.²

¹ Probably Gyges.

² Cf. Tyrt. fr. 19.7.

14 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Mimnermus:

That man’s¹ strength and heroic spirit were not such (as yours), as I learn from my elders who saw him, ash spear in hand, routing the thick ranks, of the Lydian cavalry on the plain of Hermus.² At no time whatsoever did Pallas Athena³ find fault with his heart’s fierce strength, when he sped among the

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σεύαιθ' αἵματόεν<τος ἐν> ὑσμίνῃ πολέμοιο,
 πικρὰ βιαζόμενος δυσμενέων βέλεα·
 οὐ γάρ τις κείνου δηίων ἔτ' ἀμεινότερος φῶς
 10 ἔσκειν ἐποίχεσθαι φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς
 ἔργον, ὅτ' αὐγῇσιν φέρετ' ὠκέος ἡελίοιο

2 ἐμεῦ codd., corr. West 5 κοτε Bach 6 ἔσθ' ὅτ'
 M, εὐθ' ὅτ' A, corr. Schneidewin 7 σεῦ ἦθ' M, σεύηθ' A,
 corr. Schneidewin <τος ἐν> suppl. Gesner
 8 βιαζομένου codd., βιαζόμενος ed. Schowiana 9 ληῶν
 Bergk 11 αὐγαῖσι<ν> codd., corr. Bergk 12 <εἵκελα
 χαλκείοις τεύχεσι λαμπόμενος> suppl., e.g., West

15 *Et. Gen.* (p. 20 Calame) et *Sym.* (p. 19 Berger) = *Et. Mag.* 187.45

βάξις· σημαίνει δὲ τὴν φήμην καὶ τὴν ῥῆσιν. Μίμνερ-
 μος·

καί μιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους βάξις ἔχει χαλεπή.

16 *Ibidem*

ἀργαλέης αἰεὶ βάξιος ἰέμενοι,
 παρὰ τὸ βάζω, βάξω, βάξις.

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fore-fighters in the combat of bloody war, defying the enemies' bitter shafts. For none of his foes remained better than he in going about the task of strenuous war, when he rushed (with his bronze armour gleaming like?)⁴ the rays of the swift sun.

¹ Identity unknown, but apparently one whose heroism is contrasted with the feebleness of the poet's contemporaries. Perhaps he fought against the Lydian Gyges in the 660s.

² The river Hermus rises in Phrygia and flows into the Aegean north of Smyrna.

³ There was a prominent temple of Athena in 7th-cent. Smyrna.

⁴ It is difficult to explain v. 11 without emending or assuming something in the lost pentameter to govern the dative 'rays.'

15 *Etymologicum Genuinum* and *Symeonis*

Βάξις means 'report' or 'speech.' Cf. Mimnermus:

and he has a harsh report among men

16 Same sources

ever eager for grievous report,¹

Βάξις from *βάλλω* ('speak'), *βάξω*.

¹ Apparently of those who always wish to hear something bad said of others. The second passage follows directly on the first and presumably also belongs to Mimnermus.

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17 Schol. T in Hom. *Il.* 16.287 (iv.230 Erbse), “ὅς Παίονας ἵπποκορυστάς”

Μίμνερμος

Παίονας ἄνδρας ἄγων, ἵνα τε κλειτὸν γένος
ἵππων.

παιᾶνας cod., corr. Bekker

18 Ath. 4.174a

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας (Demetr. Scepts. fr. 14 Gaede) Δαίτην ἥρωα τιμώμενον παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσίν, οὗ μνημονεύειν Μίμνερμον.

19 Ael. V.H. 12.36

εἰκόασιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν τῆς Νιόβης παίδων μὴ συνάδειν ἀλλήλοις. Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 24.603) μὲν ἕξ λέγει <ἄρρενας> καὶ τοσαύτας κόρας, Λᾶσος (fr. 706 PMG) δὲ δὺς ἑπτὰ λέγει . . . Μίμνερμος εἴκοσι, καὶ Πίνδαρος (fr. 52n S.-M.) τοσοῦτους.

20 Plut. *de facie lun.* 19.931e

εἰ δὲ μή, Θεῶν ἡμῖν οὗτος τὸν Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν Κυδῖαν (fr. 715 PMG) καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον (fr. 112 W.), πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Στησίχορον (fr. 271 PMGF)

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17 Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*

Cf. Mimnermus:

bringing men from Paeonia,¹ where (there is) a famous race of horses

¹ The Paeonians were Thracian allies of Troy in Homer, led first by Pyraechmes (*Il.* 2.848, 16.287 f.) and later by Asteropaeus (*Il.* 21.155).

18 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

The same author in the 24th book of the same work¹ records that Daïtes² was honoured as a hero by the Trojans and that Mimnermus mentions him.

¹ Demetrius of Scepsis (born c. 214 B.C.) wrote a lengthy work on the Trojan catalogue in *Iliad* 2. ² Not mentioned by our Homer.

19 Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*

The ancients seem to disagree with one another on the number of Niobe's children. Homer speaks of six males and as many girls, Lasus of fourteen . . . , Mimnermus of twenty, and Pindar of the same number.¹

¹ For the myth of Niobe and the variant number of her children see Allen 129-31. Allen also points out that Mt. Sipylus, the petrified Niobe in myth, was not far from Smyrna.

20 Plutarch, *The Face in the Moon*

If you do not (remember the recent eclipse of the sun), Theon here will adduce for us Mimnermus,¹ Cydias, and Archilochus and in addition to them Stesichorus and

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καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον (*Pae.* 9.2-5 S.-M.) ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ὀλοφυρομένους, “ἄστρον φανερώτατον κλεπτόμενον” καὶ “μέσῳ ἅματι νύκτα γινομένην” καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἡλίου “σκότους ἀτραπὸν <ἐσσυμένην>” φάσκοντας.

21 Sallust. Argum. ii in Soph. Ant.

στασιάζεται δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἡρώϊδα ἱστορούμενα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἰσμήνην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἴων ἐν τοῖς διθυράμβοις (fr. 740 PMG) καταπρησθῆναί φησιν ἀμφοτέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἥρας ὑπὸ Λαοδάμαντος (Λαομέδοντος codd., corr. Brunck) τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους· Μίμνερμος δέ φησι τὴν μὲν Ἰσμήνην προσομιλοῦσαν Περικλυμένῳ (Θεοκλυμένῳ codd., corr. Robert) ὑπὸ Τυδέως κατὰ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐγκέλευσιν τελευτῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν τὰ ξένως περὶ τῶν ἡρώϊδων ἱστορούμενα.

21a Cod. Athen. 1083, ed. S. Kugéas, Sitz.-Ber. bay. Akad. 1910 (4) (= Corp. Paroem. suppl., 1961, V), p. 15

“ἄριστα χωλὸς οἶφεϊ.” φησὶν ὅτι αἱ Ἀμαζόνες τοὺς γιγνομένους ἄρσενας ἐπήρουν, ἢ σκέλος ἢ χεῖρα περιελόμεναι· πολεμοῦντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰς οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ βουλόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὰς σπείσασθαι ἔλεγον ὅτι συνέσονται τοῖς Σκύθαις εἰς γάμον ἀπηρώτοις καὶ οὐ λελωβημένοις· ἀποκριναμένη δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ

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Pindar, who bewail during eclipses and speak of "the most conspicuous star being stolen away" and "night occurring in mid-day" and the sun's ray "speeding along a path of darkness."²

¹ There was a total eclipse at Smyrna on April 6, 648, but Mimnermus need not have referred to an eclipse in his own lifetime.

² The first and third quotations are garbled versions of passages in Pindar's *Paeon* 9 and the second is usually assigned to Stesichorus.

21 Sallustius' preface to Sophocles, *Antigone*

There is disagreement in the stories told of the heroine (Antigone) and her sister Ismene. Ion in his dithyrambs says that both were burned to death in Hera's temple by Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. But Mimnermus says that Ismene was killed by Tydeus at the command of Athena when she was making love to Periclymenus.¹ These then are the strange stories told about the heroines.

¹ For pictorial representations see Allen 133 f.

21a Manuscript on proverbs

"A lame man makes the best lover." It is said that the Amazons maimed their male children by removing a leg or a hand. When the Scythians were at war with them and wanted to make a truce, they assured the Amazons that they would not be married to maimed or mutilated

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Ἀντιάνειρα ἡγεμῶν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων εἶπεν· “ἄριστα
χωλὸς οἴφει.” μέμνηται τῆς παροιμίας Μίμ<ν>ερμος.

Dubia et Spuria

22 Schol. Lyc. 610 (p. 206.28 Scheer)

ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, καθά φησι Μίμνερμος, ὑπὸ Διομήδους
τρωθείσα παρεσκεύασε τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν πολλοῖς μὲν
μοιχοῖς συγκοιμηθῆναι, ἐρασθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ (Ἴππο-
λύτου vel -τῷ schol., corr. Scheer) Κομήτου τοῦ Σθενέ-
λου υἱοῦ. τοῦ δὲ Διομήδους παραγενομένου εἰς τὸ
Ἄργος ἐπιβουλεῦσαι αὐτῷ· τὸν δὲ καταφυγόντα εἰς
τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἥρας διὰ νυκτὸς φυγεῖν σὺν τοῖς
ἐταίροις καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς Δαῦνον βασιλέα,
ὅστις αὐτὸν <δόλω> (suppl. Scheer) ἀνείλεν.

23 Philod. *de pietate*, v. ad fr. 12

24 Stob. 4.38.3

κατὰ ἱατρῶν Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦ·

< > οἶα δὲ φιλοῦσιν {οἱ} ἱατροὶ λέγειν

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Scythians. But Antianeira, the leader of the Amazons, replied to them: "a lame man makes the best lover." Mimnermus recalls the proverb.¹

¹ As it stands, the proverb is iambic, but there is no evidence that Mimnermus composed in this meter. It is possible, however, that he adapted it to the elegiac meter or simply alluded to it in a more general way. Other sources cite the proverb without mentioning Mimnermus. According to Strabo 14.1.4 Smyrna was named after an homonymous Amazon.

Doubtful and Spurious Works

22 Scholiast on Lycophron

According to Mimnermus, because Aphrodite had been wounded by Diomedes she caused (his wife) Aegialeia to go to bed with many lovers and to be loved by Cometes, the son of Sthenelus. And when Diomedes arrived in Argos she plotted against him. He took refuge at the altar of Hera but fled during the night with his companions and went to Italy to king Daunus, who killed him by a trick.

24 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Mimnermus' *Nanno*, against physicians:

As physicians are wont to say, that minor conditions

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τὰ φαῦλα μείζω καὶ τὰ δεῖν' ὑπὲρ φόβον,
πυργοῦντες αὐτούς.

25 Stob. 4.57.11

Μιμνέρμου·

< > ἐκ Νεοπτολέμου·
δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμέν εὐκλεεῖ
ζῶντι φθονῆσαι, κατθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι.

26 *Epimer. in Hom.* (p. 224.68 Dyck)

γύναι· κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν τοῦ ξ. τὸ δὲ παρὰ Μιμνέρμῳ
(μιμηέρμνω cod., corr. Cramer: Μενάνδρῳ Meineke)·

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ', ὥς καλαὶ νῶν αἱ γυναῖ.

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are worse and serious conditions are beyond fear,
magnifying themselves.¹

¹ The verses, because of meter and dialect, cannot be assigned to Mimnermus. Presumably there is a lacuna containing the name of their author as well as the citation from Mimnermus.

25 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Mimnermus:

< > from *Neoptolemus*. For we are all wonderfully prone to envy a famous man when he's alive and to praise him when he's dead.¹

¹ As in fr. 24, a lacuna is to be assumed. This section in Stobaeus is entitled "That one should not speak insultingly of the dead" and the lost verses of Mimnermus must have been on that topic. The words "from Neoptolemus" (omitted in MS S) suggest the title of a tragedy, with the author's name in the preceding lacuna.

26 *Homeric Parsings*

γύναι, with removal of the letter ξ. It occurs in Mimnermus:

O much-honoured Zeus, how beautiful are the
wives we two have¹

¹ M. Fileni, *QUCC* 26 (1977) 83-86, has made a strong case, on metrical and lexical grounds, for assigning the verse to Menander. Menander is an error for Mimnermus in Stobaeus' citation of frr. 3 and 8.

SOLON

TESTIMONIUM

1 *Suda* (iv.396.29 Adler)

Σόλων, Ἐξηκεστίδου, Ἀθηναῖος, φιλόσοφος, νομοθέτης καὶ δημαγωγός. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, οἱ δὲ νς'. ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τυράννου ἀπεδήμησεν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ καὶ ἔκτισε πόλιν, ἣν Σόλους ἐκάλεσεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ Σόλους ἐξ αὐτοῦ φασὶ καὶ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ. ἔγραψε νόμους Ἀθηναίοις, οἳ τινες ἄξονες ὠνομάσθησαν διὰ τὸ γραφῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐν ξυλίνοις ἄξοσιν Ἀθήνησι ποίημα δι' ἐλεγείων, ὃ Σαλαμὶς ἐπιγράφεται ὑποθήκας δι' ἐλεγείας· καὶ ἄλλα. ἔστι δὲ

SOLON

TESTIMONIUM

Much of our information about Solon can be found in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, and Diogenes Laertius 1.45-67, all available in Loeb editions. Herodotus 1.29-33 gives an account of Solon's visit to Croesus, king of Lydia, but this is improbable on chronological grounds, since Croesus became ruler c. 560 and Solon died about a year later (see n. 2 below). For a full list of testimonia see A. Martina, *Solon. Testimonia veterum* (Rome 1968), and for Solon's laws see E. Ruschenbusch, *Σόλωνος νόμοι. Die Fragmente des solonischen Gesetzeswerkes mit einer Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte* (Wiesbaden 1966).

1 *Suda*

Solon, son of Execestides,¹ an Athenian philosopher, law-giver and leader of the people. He flourished in the 47th Olympiad (592/89), according to others in the 56th (556/3).² When the tyrant Pisistratus plotted against him, he spent time abroad in Cilicia and founded a city which he called Soloi after himself.³ Others say that also Soloi in Cyprus was named after him and that he died in Cyprus.⁴ He wrote laws for the Athenians which were given the name *axones*⁵ because they were written on wooden axles in Athens. He wrote an elegiac poem entitled *Salamis*,⁶ elegiac exhortations, and others.⁷ He is also one of the Seven

ELEGIAC POETRY

καὶ οὗτος εἷς τῶν ζ' ὀνομαζομένων σοφῶν. καὶ φέρεται αὐτοῦ ἀπόφθεγμα τόδε, μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἢ τό, γνῶθι σαυτόν.

FRAGMENTS

1-3. Σαλαμῖς

I Plut. Sol. 8.1-3

ἐπεὶ δὲ μακρόν τινα καὶ δυσχερῇ πόλεμον οἱ ἐν ἄστει περὶ τῆς Σαλαμινίων νήσου Μεγαρεῦσι πολεμοῦντες ἐξέκαμον, καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο μήτε γράψαι τινὰ μήτ' εἰπεῖν αὐθις ὡς χρὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, βαρέως φέρων τὴν ἀδοξίαν ὁ Σόλων καὶ τῶν νέων ὁρῶν πολλοὺς δεομένους ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντας ἄρξασθαι διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐσκήψατο μὲν ἔκστασιν τῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ λόγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας διεδόθη παρακινητικῶς ἔχειν αὐτόν· ἐλεγεία δὲ κρύφα συνθεῖς καὶ μελετήσας ὥστε λέγειν

SOLON

Sages, as they are called. The maxims "Nothing in excess" and "Know yourself" are said to be his.

¹ See introduction to fr. 22a. ² The first date is close to that commonly assigned to his archonship (594/3), the latter close to the probable year of his death. According to Phaenias (fr. 21 Wehrli), as reported by Plutarch (*Solon* 32.3), Solon lived less than two years after Pisistratus became tyrant (560/59).

³ A few other sources also mention this (e.g., Diog. Laert. 1.51).

⁴ On Soloi in Cyprus see fr. 19. Diog. Laert. 1.62 claims that Solon died in Cyprus at the age of 80.

⁵ See P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 131-35, for a thorough discussion of the word. ⁶ Frs. 1-3.

⁷ Diog. Laert. 1.61 states that Solon's elegies contained 5000 lines and he adds that Solon also composed iambic poems and epodes. No mention is made elsewhere of the latter.

FRAGMENTS

1-3. *Salamis*

1 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

When the Athenians grew tired of waging a long and difficult war with Megara over the island Salamis, they passed a law that in future no one, on pain of death, was to propose in writing or orally that the city should lay claim to Salamis. Solon found the disgrace hard to bear and when he saw that many of the young men wanted to renew the war, but lacked the courage to do so themselves because of the law, he pretended to be out of his mind and word was passed from his household to the city that he showed signs of madness. He secretly composed elegiac verses and after practising so as to recite them from memory, he suddenly

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἀπὸ στόματος, ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἄφνω,
 πιλίδιον περιθέμενος, ὄχλον δὲ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντος
 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ κήρυκος λίθον ἐν ᾧδῇ διεξῆλθε
 τὴν ἐλεγείαν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχή·

αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἡμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος,
 κόσμον ἐπέων ᾧδὴν ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος.

τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα Σαλαμῖς ἐπιγέγραπται, καὶ στίχων
 ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ, χαριέντως πάνυ πεποιημένον.

2 ᾧδὴν glossema censet West

2 Diog. Laert. 1.47

ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐλεγεία τὰ μάλιστα καθαψάμενα τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων τάδε·

εἶην δὴ τότε ἐγὼ Φολεγάνδριος ἢ Σικινήτης
 ἀντί γ' Ἀθηναίου πατρίδ' ἀμειψάμενος·
 αἶψα γὰρ ἂν φάτις ἦδε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι γένοιτο·
 “Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ, τῶν Σαλαμιναφετέων.”

Plut. *praec. gerendae reip.* 17.813f (Φολεγάνδριος—
 ἀμειψάμενος)

1 Σικινίτης v.l. 4 Σαλαμίναφετων cod. B, Σαλαμῖν'
 ἀφέντων F,P p.c.; Σαλαμιναφετῶν Vossius (-τέων Renner)

SOLON

rushed into the marketplace, wearing a little felt cap. When a large crowd had assembled, he mounted the herald's stone and recited the elegy which begins:

I have come in person as a herald from lovely Salamis, composing song, an adornment of words, instead of speech.

This poem was entitled *Salamis* and contains a hundred lines, a very fine composition.¹

¹ Plutarch goes on to state that the poem had the desired effect. The law was repealed, Solon was placed in command, and Salamis was captured. For other similar accounts of Solon's role see Demosthenes 19.252, Polyaeus 1.20.1, Diogenes Laertius 1.46 et al.

2 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

The elegiac verses which especially appealed to the Athenians were the following:

In that case may I change my country and be a Pholegandrian or Sikinite¹ instead of an Athenian. For this report would quickly be spread among men: "This man is an Athenian, one of the Salamisceders."

¹ Pholegandros and Sikinos are two very small islands in the southern Cyclades.

ELEGIAC POETRY

3 Pergit Diogenes

εἶτα·

ἴομεν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου
ἡμερτῆς χαλεπὸν τ' αἴσχος ἀπωσόμενοι.

Schol. Dem. (ii.81.11 Dilts)

2 ἀπωσάμενοι schol. Dem.

4 Dem. 19.254-56

λέγε δὴ μοι λαβὼν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐλεγεία ταυτί,
ἵν' εἰδῇθ' ὅτι καὶ Σόλων ἐμίσει τοὺς οἴους οὗτος
ἄνθρώπους . . . λέγε σύ·

ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται
αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
τοίη γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει·

5 αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν
ἄστοι βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἐτοῖμον
ὑβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν·
οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ
παρούσας

10 εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ

.....

πλουτεύουσιν δ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι

.....

SOLON

3 Diogenes continues

And then:

Let us go to Salamis to fight for a lovely island and
clear away bitter disgrace.

4 Demosthenes, *On the Embassy*

Please take and read these elegiac verses of Solon, so that
you (the jury) may know that Solon too hated such men (as
the defendant) . . . Now read:

Our state will never perish through the dispensa-
tion of Zeus or the intentions of the blessed immor-
tal gods; for such a stout-hearted guardian, Pallas
Athena, born of a mighty father, holds her hands
over it. But it is the citizens themselves who by their
acts of foolishness and subservience to money are
willing to destroy a great city, and the mind of the
people's leaders is unjust; they are certain to suffer
much pain as a result of their great arrogance. For
they do not know how to restrain excess or to con-
duct in an orderly and peaceful manner the festivi-
ties of the banquet that are at hand . . . they grow
wealthy, yielding to unjust deeds . . . sparing neither

ELEGIAC POETRY

οὐθ' ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτε τι δημοσίων
φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἀφαρπαγῇ ἄλλοθεν
ἄλλος,

οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα,
15 ἢ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτεισομένη.
τοῦτ' ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἔλκος ἄφυκτον,
ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἦλυθε δουλοσύνην,
ἢ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὖδοντ' ἐπεγείρει,
20 ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην·
ἐκ γὰρ δυσμενέων ταχέως πολυήρατον ἄστυ
τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλαις.
ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά· τῶν δὲ
πενιχρῶν

ἰκνέονται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπὴν
25 πραθέντες δεσμοῖσί τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες

.....

οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἐκάστω,
αὔλαιοι δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι,
ὑψηλὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ὑπέρθορεν, εὔρε δὲ πάντως,
εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῷ ἢ θαλάμῳ.
30 ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,
ὥς κακὰ πλείστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει,
Εὐνομίη δ' εὖκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,
καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας·
τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ,
35 αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φνόμενα,

SOLON

sacred nor private property, they steal with rapaciousness, one from one source, one from another, and they have no regard for the august foundations of Justice, who bears silent witness to the present and the past and who in time assuredly comes to exact retribution. This¹ is now coming upon the whole city as an inescapable wound and the city has quickly approached wretched slavery,² which arouses civil strife and slumbering war, the loss for many of their lovely youth. For at the hands of its enemies the much-loved city is being swiftly worn down amid conspiracies dear to the unjust. These are the evils that are rife among the people, and many of the poor are going to a foreign land, sold and bound in shameful fetters . . . And so the public evil comes home to each man and the courtyard gates no longer have the will to hold it back, but it leaps over the high barrier and assuredly finds him out, even if he takes refuge in an innermost corner of his room. This is what my heart bids me teach the Athenians, that Lawlessness brings the city countless ills, but Lawfulness³ reveals all that is orderly and fitting, and often places fetters round the unjust. She makes the rough smooth, puts a stop to excess, weakens insolence, dries up the blooming

ELEGIAC POETRY

εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα
 πραῦνει, παύει δ' ἔργα διχοστασίης,
 παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς
 πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.

ἀκούετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων οἷα Σόλων λέγει καὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὓς φησι τὴν πόλιν σῶζειν.

1 ἡμετέρα codd., corr. Camerarius 11 πλουτοῦσιν
 codd., corr. Fick 13 ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ codd. recc.
 16 ἀποτισομένη B p.c., -αμένη cett., corr. Hiller
 22 ἀδικοῦσι codd., corr. West: ἀδίκουσι Richards φίλους F
 p.c. (retin. West), φίλοις cett., φίλαις Bergk 24 ἰκνοῦνται
 codd., corr. Fick 29 ἡ θαλάμῳ codd., corr. Schneidewin
 31 Δυσνομία codd., corr. Bergk 32 Εὐνομία codd., corr.
 Bergk

4a Arist. Ath. Pol. 5

τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὔσης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δουλευόντων τοῖς ὀλίγοις, ἀντέστη τοῖς γνωρίμοις ὁ δῆμος. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς στάσεως οὔσης καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντικαθημένων ἀλλήλοις εἶλοντο κοινῇ διαλλακτὴν καὶ ἄρχοντα Σόλωνα, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ, ποιήσαντι τὴν ἐλεγείαν ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχή·

γινώσκω, καί μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κείται,
 πρεσβυτάτην ἐσορῶν γαῖαν [Ἰ]αονίης
 κλινομένην

SOLON

flowers of ruin,⁴ straightens out crooked judgments, tames deeds of pride, and puts an end to acts of sedition and to the anger of grievous strife. Under her all things among men are fitting and rational.⁵

You hear, men of Athens, what Solon has to say about such men and about the gods who, he says, keep our city safe.

¹ It is unclear what 'this' refers to. Perhaps it is to the punishment of Justice. ² Probably a reference to tyranny.

³ On these two personifications see M. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of Athenian Democracy* (Oxford 1969) 64-69: "They are 'poetic persons' which symbolize, respectively, the orderly and disorderly state of affairs in the city" (p. 66). ⁴ Or "infatuation."

⁵ Except for lacunae of indeterminate length, the poem may be complete.

4a Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*

When such was the organization of the state and many were enslaved to the few, the people rose up against the men of note. After bitter strife and protracted opposition to one another, they agreed to choose Solon as reconciler and archon [594/3], and they entrusted the state to him. He had composed the elegy which begins:

I know (and pain lies within my heart), as I look on the eldest land of Ionia¹ tottering, that . . .²

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἐν ἣ πρὸς ἑκατέρους ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρων μάχεται καὶ διαμ-
φισβητεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοινῇ παραινεῖ καταπαύειν
τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν φιλονικίαν.

1 γινώσκω pap. (retin. West), γιγν- Blass, alii

2 [Ἰ]αονίας pap., corr. West 3 κλιν- agnovit Wilcken, καιν-
Blass

4c Pergit Arist.

ἦν δὲ ὁ Σόλων τῇ μὲν φύσει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν πρώτων, τῇ δ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν μέσων, ὥς ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολογεῖται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ποιήμασιν μαρτυρεῖ, παραινῶν τοῖς πλουσίοις μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν·

ὕμεις δ' ἡσυχάσαντες ἐνὶ φρεσὶ καρτερόν ἦτορ,
οἱ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς κόρον [ἡ]λάσατε,
ἐν μετρίοισι τίθεσθε μέγαν νόον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς
πεισόμεθ', οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἄρτια τα[ύτ] ἐσται.

2 [ῆ]λάσατε suppl. Postgate

4b Pergit Arist.

καὶ ὅλως αἰεὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς στάσεως ἀνάπτει τοῖς πλουσίοις· διὸ καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐλεγγείας δεδοικέναι φησὶ τὴν τε φ[...][...][...]τιαν τὴν τε ὑπερηφαν[ί]αν, ὥς διὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἔχθρας ἐνεστώσης.

SOLON

In this poem he fights and disputes with each side on behalf of each side, and afterwards he urges them to join in bringing an end to the contention dwelling among them.

¹ Athens claimed to be the mother city of all Ionians.

² My translation assumes that the sentence is incomplete, but if it is complete I would translate as follows: "I realize that I am looking on the eldest land of Ionia tottering, and pain lies within my heart."

4c Aristotle continues

Solon was by birth and reputation one of the leading citizens, but by property and business dealings one of the middle class, as is agreed on from other sources and as he himself attests in these poems, where he urges the rich not to be greedy:

You who had more than your fill of many good things, calm the stern heart within your breast and moderate your ambition; for we shall not comply nor will these things be fitting for you.

4b Aristotle continues

And in short he always lays the blame for the strife on the rich. That is why he says at the beginning of the elegy that he fears their . . . and their arrogance,¹ suggesting that this was the cause of the hostility.

ELEGIAC POETRY

Plut. Sol. 14.2

ἀλλ' αὐτός φησιν ὁ Σόλων ὁκνῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἄψασθαι
τῆς πολιτείας καὶ δεδοικῶς τῶν μὲν τὴν φιλοχρη-
ματίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν.

5 Arist. Ath. Pol. 11.2-12.1

ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἠναντιώθη, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ μεθ' ὁπο-
τέρων ἐβούλετο συστά[ντ]α τυραννεῖν, εἴλετο πρὸς
ἀμφοτέρους ἀπεχθέσθαι σώσας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ
βέ[λτι]στα νομοθετήσας. ταῦτα δὲ ὅτι τοῦτον <τὸν>
τρόπον ἔσχεν οἳ τε ἄλλοι συμφωνοῦσι πάντες καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει μέμνηται περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε·

δῆμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον γέρας ὅσσον
ἀπαρκεῖν

τιμῆς οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτ' ἐπορεξάμενος·
οἱ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγητοί,
καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν·

5 ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος
ἀμφοτέροισι,
νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἴασ' οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.

Plut. Sol. 18.5

1 κράτος pro γέρας Plut. ἀπαρκεῖ pap., corr. Ziegler;
ἐπαρκεῖ Plut., ἐπαρκεῖν Brunck (prob. West) 2 ἀπορ- pap.,
ἐπορ- Plut.

SOLON

Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

But Solon himself says that at first he undertook public life reluctantly and in fear of one side's love of money and the other side's arrogance.

¹ On the basis of Plutarch many see a pentameter lurking here, τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν (vel sim.) τήν θ' ὑπερηφανίαν, and some suggest that δέδοικα ended the previous hexameter. "I fear their love of money and their arrogance." West agrees that the general thought was present in the poem, but not in this form.

5 Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*

But Solon opposed both sides, and while he could have joined with whichever side he wished and become tyrant, he chose to incur the enmity of both by saving his homeland and legislating for the best. Everyone else agrees that he acted in this way and he himself in his poetry has made mention of this, as follows:

I have given the masses as much privilege as is sufficient, neither taking away from their honour nor adding to it. And as for those who had power and were envied for their wealth, I saw to it that they too should suffer no indignity. I stood with a mighty shield cast round both sides and did not allow either to have an unjust victory.

ELEGIAC POETRY

6 Pergit Aristotle

πάλιν δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος περὶ τοῦ πλήθους, ὥς αὐτῷ
δεῖ χρῆσθαι

δῆμος δ' ὧδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιτο,
μήτε λήην ἀνεθείς μήτε βιαζόμενος·
τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος
ἔπηται
ἀνθρώποις ὅπόσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

Sequitur fr. 34.

Plut. *comp. Sol. et Publ.* 2.6 (vv. 1-2)

Theogn. 153-54 (vv. 3-4)

Clem. *Strom.* 6.8.7 (v. 3)

2 λῖαν pap., λήην v.l. in Plut. πιεζόμενος Plut. 3 τοι pro
γὰρ et κακῷ pro πολὺς Theogn. 4 ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτῳ Theogn.

7 Plut. *Sol.* 25.6

... ὅλως δὲ ταῖς ἀπορίαις ὑπεκστῆναι βουλόμενος καὶ
διαφυγεῖν τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ τὸ φιλαίτιον τῶν πολι-
τῶν—

ἔργμασι (γὰρ) ἐν μεγάλοις πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν χαλεπόν,
ὥς αὐτὸς εἶρηκε—πρόσχημα τῆς πλάνης τὴν ναυκλη-
ρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε, δεκαετὴ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ἀποδημίαν αἰτησάμενος.

ἔργμασιν vel ἔργμασι δ' Heinemann

SOLON

6 Aristotle continues

And again showing how the masses should be treated:

And in this way the masses would best follow their leaders, if they are neither given too much freedom nor subjected to too much restraint. For excess breeds insolence,¹ whenever great prosperity comes to men who are not sound of mind.

¹ This became proverbial.

7 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

. . . and wishing to be wholly free of these difficulties and to escape from the displeasure and censoriousness of the citizens—

in matters of great importance it is hard to please everyone,

as he himself said—he gave the ownership of a vessel as an excuse for travel and set sail, after asking the Athenians for a ten-year absence abroad.

ELEGIAC POETRY

9 Diod. Sic. 9.20.2

λέγεται δὲ Σόλων καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν
ἐστομένην τυραννίδα δι' ἐλεγείων·

ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἡδὲ χαλάζης,
βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρῆς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς·
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλεις ὄλλυται, ἐς δὲ
μονάρχου
δῆμος αἰδρίη δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.

5 λήν δ' ἐξάραντ' <οὐ> ῥάδιόν ἐστι κατασχεῖν
ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη χρή <τινα> πάντα νοεῖν.

Sequitur fr. 11.

Diog. Laert. 1.50 (vv. 1-4)

Plut. Sol. 3.6 (vv. 1-2)

Diod. Sic. 19.1.4 (vv. 3-4)

1 φέρεται Diog. θαλάττης Diod., θαλάσσης cod. P
Diogenis 2 λαμπρᾶς Diod., Plut. 3 τυράννου Diod.
19 4 αἰδρείη Diod. 9 5 λείης δ' ἐξέραντα Diod.,
corr. Schneidewin οὐ suppl. Dindorf 6 τινα suppl. Sintenis,
alii alia

10 Diog. Laert. 1.49

ἄξας γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ δόρατος καὶ ἀσπί-
δος προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τινα ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου
. . . καὶ ἡ βουλή, Πεισιστρατίδαι ὄντες, μαίνεσθαι
ἔλεγον αὐτόν· ὅθεν εἶπε ταυτί·

SOLON

9 Diodorus Siculus, *World History*

Solon is said to have foretold the Athenians of the coming tyranny (i.e., Pisistratus) in elegiac verses:

From a cloud comes the force of snow and hail,
thunder from a flash of lightning, from powerful
men a city's destruction, and through ignorance the
masses fall enslaved to a tyrant. If they raise a man
too high, it's not easy to restrain him afterwards; it is
now that one should consider everything.

10 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

Rushing into the assembly armed with spear and shield, he warned them of the designs of Pisistratus . . . And the council, consisting of Pisistratus' supporters, declared that he was mad; as a result of which he uttered these verses:

ELEGIAC POETRY

δείξει δὴ μανίην μὲν ἐμὴν βαιὸς χρόνος ἀστοῖς,
δείξει ἀληθείης ἐς μέσον ἐρχομένης.

11 Pergit Diod. Sic. (v. ad fr. 9)

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τυραννοῦντος ἔφη·

εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ δι' ὑμετέρην κακότητα,
μὴ θεοῖσιν τούτων μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε·
αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε ῥύματα δόντες,
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην.
5 ὑμέων δ' εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἵχνεσι βαίνει,
σύμπασιν δ' ὑμῖν χαῦνος ἔνεστι νόος·
ἐς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁράτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἰμύλου
ἀνδρός,
εἰς ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν γιγνόμενον βλέπετε.

Diog. Laert. 1.51 (vv. 1-8)

Plut. Sol. 30.8 (vv. 1-4)

Plut. Sol. 30.3 (= Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.23.1), vv. 5-7 (7,5,6)

1 δεινὰ Diog. ὑμετέραν Diod., cod. F Diogenis

2 τι θεοῖς Diog., v.l. in Plut. μῆνιν Plut. 3 ῥύσια Diog.

6 χαῦνος Plut., κούφος Diod., Diog. 7 ἔπη αἰμύλου Plut.,
ἔπος αἰόλον Diod., Diog.

12 Plut. Sol. 3.6

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἥν δέ τις
αὐτὴν
μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη.

SOLON

A little time will show the citizens how mad I am,
when the truth comes out in the open.

11 Diodorus Siculus (following fr. 9)

And afterwards, when Pisistratus was tyrant, he said:

If you have suffered grief because of your wrong action, do not lay the blame for this on the gods. You yourselves increased the power of these men by providing a bodyguard and that is why you have foul slavery. Each one of you follows the fox's tracks, and collectively you are empty-headed. You look to the tongue and words of a crafty man, but not to what he does.

12 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

The sea is disturbed by winds, but if none moves it,
it is the evenest¹ of all things.

¹ The imagery is no doubt being applied to a political situation, as in fr. 9. See B. Gentili, *QUCC* 20 (1975) 159-62. Plutarch actually cites the verses as a continuation of fr. 9.1-2 which he ineptly introduced with the words ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀπλοῦς ἐστι λίκαν καὶ ἀρχαῖος, "but in physical matters he is extremely simple-minded and primitive."

13 Stob. 3.9.23

Σόλωνος·

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτὲ μοι εὐχομένῳ
 ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε καὶ πρὸς
 ἀπάντων

- ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν·
 5 εἶναι δὲ γλυκὺν ὧδε φίλοις, ἐχθροῖσι δὲ πικρόν,
 τοῖσι μὲν αἰδοῖον, τοῖσι δὲ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν.
 χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
 οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.
 πλούτον δ' ὃν μὲν δῶσι θεοί, παραγίγνεται ἀνδρὶ
 10 ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος ἐς κορυφήν·
 ὃν δ' ἄνδρες τιμῶσιν ὑφ' ὕβριος, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον
 ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι πειθόμενος
 οὐκ ἐθέλων ἔπεται, ταχέως δ' ἀναμίσγεται ἄτῃ·
 ἀρχὴν δ' ἐξ ὀλίγου γίγνεται ὥστε πυρός,
 15 φλαύρη μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀνιερὴ δὲ τελευτᾷ·
 οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει,
 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πάντων ἐφορᾷ τέλος, ἐξαπίνης δὲ
 ὥστ' ἄνεμος νεφέλας αἶψα διεσκέδασεν
 ἡρινός, ὃς πόντου πολυκύμονος ἀτρυγέτοιο
 20 πυθμένα κινήσας, γῆν κατά πυροφόρον
 δηώσας καλὰ ἔργα θεῶν ἔδος αἰπὺν ἰκάνει
 οὐρανόν, αἰθρίην δ' αὖτις ἔθηκεν ἰδεῖν·
 λάμπει δ' ἡελίοιο μένος κατὰ πύονα γαῖαν
 καλόν, ἀτὰρ νεφέων οὐδ' ἐν ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν—

SOLON

13 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Solon:

Resplendent daughters of Memory and Olympian Zeus, Pierian¹ Muses, hearken to my prayer. Grant that I have prosperity from the blessed gods and a good reputation always from all men; grant that in these circumstances I be sweet to my friends and bitter to my enemies, viewed with respect by the former and with dread by the latter.

I long to have money, but I am unwilling to possess it unjustly, for retribution assuredly comes afterwards. Wealth which the gods give remains with a man, secure from the lowest foundation to the top,² whereas wealth which men honour with violence comes in disorder, an unwilling attendant persuaded by unjust actions, and it is quickly mixed with ruin. Ruin has a small beginning, like that of fire, insignificant at first but grievous in the end, for mortals' deeds of violence do not live long. Zeus oversees every outcome, and suddenly, just as the clouds are quickly scattered by a spring wind which stirs up the bottom of the swelling and undraining(?) sea, ravages the lovely fields over the wheat-bearing land, reaches the gods' high seat in heaven, and again brings a clear sky to view; the strong sun shines in beauty over the fertile land and no longer can even a single cloud be seen—such is

ELEGIAC POETRY

- 25 τοιαύτη Ζηνὸς πέλεται τίσις· οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐκάστω
 ὥσπερ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ γίγνεται ὀξύχολος,
 αἰεὶ δ' οὐ' ἐ λέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρὸν
 θυμὸν ἔχει, πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη·
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἔτεισεν, ὁ δ' ὕστερον· οἱ δὲ
 φύγωσιν
- 30 αὐτοί, μηδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπιοῦσα κίχη,
 ἤλυθε πάντως αὖτις· ἀναίτιοι ἔργα τίνουσιν
 ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ἐξοπίσω.
 θνητοὶ δ' ὧδε νοέομεν ὁμῶς ἀγαθός τε κακός τε,
 †ἐν δηννην† αὐτὸς δόξαν ἕκαστος ἔχει,
 35 πρὶν τι παθεῖν· τότε δ' αὖτις ὀδύρεται· ἄχρι δὲ
 τούτου
- χάσκοντες κούφαις ἐλπίσι τερπόμεθα.
 χῶστις μὲν νούσοισιν ὑπ' ἀργαλέησι πιεσθῇ,
 ὥς ὑγιῆς ἔσται, τοῦτο κατεφράσατο·
 ἄλλος δειλὸς ἐὼν ἀγαθὸς δοκεῖ ἔμμεναι ἀνὴρ,
 40 καὶ καλὸς μορφὴν οὐ χαρίεσσαν ἔχων·
 εἰ δέ τις ἀχρήμων, πενίης δέ μιν ἔργα βιάται,
 κτήσεσθαι πάντως χρήματα πολλὰ δοκεῖ.
 σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον
 ἀλᾶται
- ἐν νηυσὶν χρήζων οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν
 45 ἰχθυόεντ' ἀνέμοισι φορεόμενος ἀργαλέοισιν,
 φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος·
 ἄλλος γῆν τέμνων πολυδένδρεον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
 λατρεύει, τοῖσιν καμπύλ' ἄροτρα μέλει·
 ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἑφαιίστου πολυτέχνεω

SOLON

the vengeance of Zeus. He is not, like a mortal man, quick to anger at every incident, but anyone who has a sinful heart never ever escapes his notice and in the end he is assuredly revealed. But one man pays the penalty at once, another later, and if they themselves escape the penalty and the pursuing destiny of the gods does not overtake them, it assuredly comes at another time; the innocent pay the penalty, either their children or a later progeny. And thus we mortals, whatever our estate, think that the expectation which each one has is progressing well(?), until he suffers some mishap, and then afterwards he wails. But until then we take eager delight in empty hopes. Whoever is oppressed by grievous sickness thinks that he will be healthy; another man of low estate considers that it's high and that he's handsome, though his form is without beauty. If someone is lacking means and is constrained by the effects of poverty, he thinks that he will assuredly acquire much money. Everyone has a different pursuit. One roams over the fish-filled sea in ships, longing to bring home profit; tossed by cruel winds, he has no regard for life. Another, whose concern is the curved plough, cleaves the thickly wooded land and slaves away for a year. Another who has learned the works of Athena and Hephaestus,³ the god of many

ELEGIAC POETRY

- 50 ἔργα δαεὶς χειροῖν ξυλλέγεται βίοτον,
 ἄλλος Ὀλυμπιάδων Μουσέων πάρα δῶρα
 διδαχθεὶς,
 ἱμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος·
 ἄλλον μάντιν ἔθηκεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,
 ἔγνω δ' ἀνδρὶ κακὸν τηλόθεν ἐρχόμενον,
 55 ᾧ συνομαρτήσωσι θεοί· τὰ δὲ μόρσιμα πάντως
 οὔτε τις οἰωνὸς ῥύσεται οὔθ' ἱερά·
 ἄλλοι Παιῶνος πολυφαρμάκου ἔργον ἔχοντες
 ἰητροί· καὶ τοῖς οὐδὲν ἔπεστι τέλος·
 πολλάκι δ' ἐξ ὀλίγης ὀδύνης μέγα γίγνεται ἄλγος,
 60 κοῦκ ἂν τις λύσαιτ' ἥπια φάρμακα δούς·
 τὸν δὲ κακαῖς νούσοισι κυκώμενον ἀργαλείαις τε
 ἀψάμενος χειροῖν αἶψα τίθησ' ὑγιῇ.
 Μοῖρα δέ τοι θνητοῖσι κακὸν φέρει ἥδὲ καὶ
 ἐσθλόν,
 δῶρα δ' ἄφυκτα θεῶν γίγνεται ἀθανάτων.
 65 πᾶσι δέ τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν, οὔδέ τις οἶδεν
 ἧ μέλλει σχήσειν χρήματος ἀρχομένου·
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδειν πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας
 ἐς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεσεν,
 τῷ δὲ κακῶς ἔρδοντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα δίδωσιν
 70 συντυχίην ἀγαθὴν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης.
 πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι
 κεῖται·
 οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἡμέων πλείστον ἔχουσι βίον,
 διπλασίως σπεύδουσιν· τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας;
 κέρδεά τοι θνητοῖς ὥπασαν ἀθάνατοι,

SOLON

crafts, gathers in his livelihood with his hands; another, taught the gifts that come from the Olympian Muses and knowing the rules of the lovely art of poetry, makes his living. Another has been made a seer by lord Apollo who works from afar and, if the gods are with him, he sees a distant calamity coming upon a man; but assuredly neither augury nor sacrifice will ward off what is destined. Others, engaged in the work of Paeon,⁴ rich in drugs, are physicians; for them too there is no guarantee. Often agony results from a slight pain and no one can provide relief by giving soothing drugs, whereas another, in the throes of a terrible and grievous disease, he quickly restores to health with the touch of his hands. Fate brings good and ill to mortals and the gifts of the immortal gods are inescapable. In all actions there is risk and no one knows, when something starts, how it is going to turn out. The man who tries to act rightly falls unawares into great and harsh calamity, while to the one who acts badly the god gives success in all things, an escape from his folly. But of wealth no limit lies revealed to men, since those of us who now have the greatest livelihood show twice as much zeal. What could satisfy everyone? In truth the immortals give men profit, but from it (them?)⁵ there is revealed ruin, which

ELEGIAC POETRY

75 ἄτη δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναφαίνεται, ἣν ὁπότε Ζεὺς
πέμψη τεισομένην, ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Crates fr. 1.1-2 (vv. 1-2)

Clem. *Strom.* 6.11.1 (v. 1)

Plut. *Sol.* 2.4, *Publ.* 24.7 (*comp. Sol. et Publ.* 1.7), vv. 7-8

Theognis 585-90, Stob. 4.47.16 (vv. 65-70)

Theognis 227-32 (vv. 71-76)

Arist. *Pol.* 1.8.1256b31, Plut. *de cupid. div.* 4.524e, Basil. *ad adul.* 9.103 (p. 58 Boulenger, p. 34 Wilson), v. 71

<p>11 μετίωσιν Ahrens, alii alia Stob., corr. Arnott, ἀρχῆς δ' ἐξ ὀλίγης West δὴν Paris. 1985 et Regin. gr. 146 27 οὔτε Stob., corr. Hermann 31 αὐτίκ' Stob., corr. Brunck ante Schow 32 ἡγεμόνων ὀπίσω Stob., corr. Paris. 1985 et Pierson 33 νοεῦμεν Stob., corr. West Büchner et Theiler (prob. West), alii alia corr. Stephanus Sylburg πάντων Stob., corr. Gesner Stob., corr. West 48 τοῖσι Stob., corr. Grotius 51 Μουσάων Stob., corr. Turnebus corr. Gesner 65 πᾶσιν τοι Theogn. μέλλει πρήγματος Theogn. 69 καλῶς ποιεῦντι Theogn., καλὸν ποιοῦντι Stob. 4.47.16 70 ἀγαθῶν Stob. 4.47.16 71 ἀνδράσι κείται Stob., Arist., Basil.; ἀνθρώποισι Theogn., Plut. (retin. West) 74 χρήματά τοι θνητοῖς γίνεται ἀφροσύνη Theogn. 75 αὐτῆς Theogn. ὁπότεν Stob. Stob. et Theogn. (v.l.) τειρομένοις Theogn.</p>	<p>13 ἄτη v.l. 22 αὐθις Stob., corr. Bach 29 ἔτισεν Stob., corr. Hiller ἀναίτια Stob., corr. nescioquis 34 εὖ ρεῖν ἦν 37 χῶστις Stob., 42 κτήσασθαι Stob. (retin. West), corr. 45 φορεύμενος 46 οὐδεμίην Stob., corr. Schneidewin μένει Stob., corr. Gesner 61 κακώμενον Stob., 62 χεροῖν Stob., corr. Trincavelli 66 πῇ et ποῖ Theogn. σχήσειν 67 εὐδοκιμεῖν Theogn. 73 διπλάσιον Theogn. 76 πέμψει τισομένην Stob., corr. Hiller;</p>	<p>14 ἀρχῇ 16 δὴ Stob., 22 αὐθις Stob., corr. Bach 29 ἔτισεν Stob., corr. Hiller ἀναίτια Stob., corr. nescioquis 34 εὖ ρεῖν ἦν 37 χῶστις Stob., 42 κτήσασθαι Stob. (retin. West), corr. 45 φορεύμενος 46 οὐδεμίην Stob., corr. Schneidewin μένει Stob., corr. Gesner 61 κακώμενον Stob., 62 χεροῖν Stob., corr. Trincavelli 66 πῇ et ποῖ Theogn. σχήσειν 67 εὐδοκιμεῖν Theogn. 73 διπλάσιον Theogn. 76 πέμψει τισομένην Stob., corr. Hiller;</p>
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SOLON

now one, now another has, whenever Zeus sends it to punish them.

¹ Hesiod (*Theog.* 53) states that the Muses were born in Pieria, in southern Macedonia northwest of Mt. Olympus. ² Various metaphors have been postulated (building, tree, grain, storage jar), but nothing specific need be intended. ³ Patron deities of craftsmen, especially potters. They shared cult worship in Athens. ⁴ The god of healing, often identified with Apollo. ⁵ The reference of *αὐτῶν* is unclear, some arguing for 'profit' (assuming this to mean unjustly gained), others for 'men' (i.e., men themselves are the cause of their own ruin), and others for 'immortals.'

According to Clem. *Strom.* 6.11.1 we have the beginning of the poem and it has the appearance of completeness.

ELEGIAC POETRY

14 Stob. 4.34.23

Σόλωνος·

οὐδὲ μάκαρ οὐδεὶς πέλεται βροτός, ἀλλὰ πονηροὶ
πάντες ὅσους θνητοὺς ἡέλιος καθορᾷ.

15 Plut. Sol. 3.2

ὅτι δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων μερίδι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ
τῶν πλουσίων ἔταπτε, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τούτων·

πολλοὶ γὰρ πλουτεύουσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα
τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Theogn. 315-18 (vv. 1-4)

Plut. *de prof. virt.* 6.78c, *de tranqu. animi* 13.472d, Basil. *ad adul.* 5.45 (p. 48 Boulenger, p. 25 Wilson), vv. 2-4

Plut. *de inim. util.* 11.92e (vv. 2-3, ἀλλ'—πλοῦτον)

1 τοι pro γὰρ Theogn. πλουτεῦσι Plut. v.l., -οῦσι Plut. v.l.,
Theogn., corr. West 2 τούτοις Theogn. (rec. West) 3 αἰεὶ
Theogn., Basil., Plut. Sol. cod. C: ἐστιν Plut. alias

16 Clem. Strom. 5.81.1

σοφώτατα τοίνυν γέγραπται τῷ Σόλωνι ταῦτα περὶ
θεοῦ·

γνωμοσύνης δ' ἀφανὲς χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι νοῆσαι
μέτρον, ὃ δὴ πάντων πείρατα μῦνον ἔχει.

SOLON

14 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Solon:

No mortal is blessed, but all whom the sun looks down upon are in a sorry state.

15 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

That he classified himself among the poor rather than the rich is clear from the following:

Many base men are rich and many good men poor: but we will not take their wealth in exchange for virtue, since this is always secure, while wealth belongs now to one man, now to another.

16 Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*

Solon has written these very wise words about God:

Wisdom's hidden essence, which alone holds the key to everything, is the most difficult to discern.¹

¹ Clement may have misunderstood or misinterpreted Solon's words, since the context is probably political, with 'wisdom' being a requirement of good government.

ELEGIAC POETRY

17 Clem. Strom. 5.129.5

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑσίοδος δι' ὧν γράφει συνάδει τοῖς προ-
ειρημένοις (fr. 303 M.-W.) . . . εἰκότως ἄρα Σόλων
ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις καὶ αὐτὸς κατακολου-
θήσας Ἑσιόδῳ

πάντῃ δ' ἀθανάτων ἀφανῆς νόος ἀνθρώποισιν

γράφει. Exscripsit Euseb. praep. ev. 13.13.57

πάμπαν Euseb.

18 Ps.-Plat. Amat. 133c

τί δ' ἄλλο γε (τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν) ἢ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος;
Σόλων γάρ που εἶπε·

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

19 Plut. Sol. 26.2-4

ἔπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Κύπρον ἡγαπήθη διαφερόντως
ὑπὸ Φιλοκύπρου τινὸς τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλέων, ὃς εἶχεν οὐ
μεγάλην πόλιν . . . ἔπεισεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Σόλων,
ὑποκειμένου καλοῦ πεδίου, μεταθέντα τὴν πόλιν ἡδί-
ονα καὶ μείζονα κατασκευάσαι, καὶ παρὼν ἐπεμελήθη
τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ . . . καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ
συνοικισμοῦ· προσαγορεύσας γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις
τὸν Φιλόκυπρον

SOLON

17 Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*

But Hesiod in his writings agrees with what has been said earlier . . . It is reasonable then that Solon the Athenian, following Hesiod, writes in his elegies:

The mind of the immortals is altogether hidden
from men.

18 Pseudo-Plato, *Lovers*

What else is philosophizing than the statement of Solon?
For he said:

As I grow old I am always learning many things.¹

¹ This became proverbial and is cited in a great many sources.

19 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

Then he sailed (from Egypt) to Cyprus and received an exceptionally warm welcome from Philocyprus, one of the local kings, who had a small city . . . Solon persuaded him to move the city to the lovely plain that lay below and to make it more attractive and spacious, and he took personal charge of the consolidation . . . Solon himself mentions this in the elegiac verses which he addressed to Philocyprus:

ELEGIAC POETRY

νῦν δὲ (φησί) σὺ μὲν Σολίοισι πολὺν χρόνον
ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσω

τὴνδε πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ὑμέτερον·
αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ ξὺν νηϊ̇ θοῇ κλεινῆς ἀπὸ νήσου
ἀσκηθῇ πέμποι Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος·
5 οἰκισμῶ δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε χάριν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάζοι
ἔσθλὸν καὶ νόστον πατρίδ' ἐς ἡμετέρην.

Vita Arati (p. 7.14 Martin), vv. 1-4

2 δύοις *Vita*

20 Diog. Laert. 1.60 (v. ad Mimn. fr. 6)

ἀλλ' εἴ μοι κἄν νῦν ἔτι πείσεται, ἔξελε τοῦτο—
μηδὲ μέγαιρ', ὅτι σέο λῶον ἐπεφρασάμην—
καὶ μεταποίησον, Λιγναιστάδη, ὧδε δ' ᾄδει·
“ὄγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.”

1 καὶ νῦν Thiersch (prob. West) τοῦτον v.l. 2 σεῦ
codd., corr. West τοῖον codd., λῶον Boissonade, λῶον'
Ziegler, λῳιον ἐφρ- Christianus 3 ναιγιασταδῆ vel
α(ι)γιασταδί codd., corr. Bergk (Λιγναστ-) et Diels (Λιγναστ-),
Λιγιαστ- West

21 Plut. Publ. 24.5 (comp. Sol. et Publ. 1.5)

ἔτι τοίνυν οἷς πρὸς Μίμνερμον ἀντειπὼν περὶ χρόνου
ζωῆς ἐπιπεφώνηκε,

μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
καλλείπομι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς,

SOLON

Now may you and your progeny dwell in this city and rule over Soloi¹ for a long time; and may Cypris of the violet crown send me unscathed from your famous island on a swift ship. May she bestow favour and glory on this settlement and a fair return to my homeland.

¹ Plutarch states that Aepeia was renamed Soloi by Philocyprus out of gratitude for Solon's assistance. Herodotus 5.113.2 and the *Life of Aratus* mention more briefly Solon's involvement with Philocyprus, the *Life* calling him Cypranor.

20 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

But if even now you will still listen to me, remove this¹—and do not be offended because my thoughts are better than yours—and changing it, Ligyai-stades,² sing as follows: “May my fated death come at eighty.”

¹ I.e., what Mimnermus said in fr. 6. West argues that Solon quoted Mimn. fr. 6.2 immediately before v. 1 of our fragment.

² The precise form is disputed. See Mimn. test. 1.

21 Plutarch, *Comparison of Solon and Publicola*

Furthermore, from what Solon said on the duration of life, in opposition to Mimnermus,

May death not come to me without tears, but when I die may I leave my friends with sorrow and lamentation,¹

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εὐδαίμονα τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἄνδρα ποιεῖ.

Stob. 4.54.3 (vv. 1-2); cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.117 et *de senect.* 73

1 ἄκλαντος van Herwerden (prob. West)

2 καλλείποιμι Stob. (-λίπ- codd., corr. Gesner), cf. Cic. (*linquamus*); ποιήσαιμι Plut.

22 Plat. *Tim.* 20e

ἦν μὲν οὖν (Σόλων) οἰκείος ἡμῖν καὶ σφόδρα φίλος
Δρωπίδου τοῦ προπάππου, καθάπερ λέγει πολλαχοῦ
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει.

Plat. *Charm.* 157e

ἢ τε γὰρ πατρώα ὑμῖν οἰκία, ἢ Κριτίου τοῦ Δρωπίδου,
καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος (fr. 495 PMG) καὶ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος
καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ποιητῶν ἐγκεκωμιασμένη
παραδέδοται ἡμῖν, ὥς διαφέρουσα κάλλει τε καὶ
ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ λεγομένη εὐδαιμονία.

22a Procl. in *Tim.* l.c. (i.81.27 Diehl); cf. schol. Plat.
(p. 280 Greene)

ἢ μὲν ἱστορία ἢ κατὰ τὸ Σόλωνος γένος καὶ τὴν
Πλάτωνος πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν τοιαύτη τίς ἐστίν·
Ἐξηκεστίδου παῖδες ἐγένοντο Σόλων καὶ Δρωπίδης,
καὶ Δρωπίδου μὲν Κριτίας, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Σόλων
ἐν τῇ ποιήσει, λέγων·

εἰπεῖν μοι Κριτίῃ ξανθότριχι πατρὸς ἀκούειν·

SOLON

he makes Publicola a happy man.

¹ Because of the reference to Mimnermus many assume that these verses came from the same poem as fr. 20.

22 Plato, *Timaeus*

Now Solon was related to us and was a close friend of Dropides, my great-grandfather, as he himself says many times in his poetry.

Plato, *Charmides*

For your ancestral house (i.e., of Charmides and Critias), the house of Critias son of Dropides, has been praised by Anacreon, Solon, and many other poets and has come down to us in tradition as one that is distinguished for beauty, virtue, and whatever is called happiness.

22a Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus*

The history of Solon's family and of Plato's kinship with him is as follows: Solon and Dropides were the sons of Execestides, and the son of Dropides was Critias,¹ whom Solon mentions in his poetry, saying:

Please tell flaxen-haired Critias to listen to his

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οὐ γὰρ ἁμαρτινόῳ πείσεται ἡγεμόνι.

Arist. *Rhet.* 1.1375b31; Paraphr. Anon. ad loc. (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* xxi(2).81.13), v. 1

1 εἰπεῖν μοι Arist. (εἰπεῖν τῷ Paraphr.), εἰπέμεναι Procl., schol. Plat. Κριτία πυρρότριχι Arist.

23 Plat. *Lys.* 212d-e

ἡ φιλοῦσι μὲν ταῦτα ἕκαστοι, οὐ μέντοι φίλα ὄντα;—
ἀλλὰ ψεύδεται ὁ ποιητῆς ὃς ἔφη·

ὄλβιος, ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
καὶ κύνες ἀγρευταὶ καὶ ξένος ἀλλοδαπός.

Hermias in Plat. *Phaedr.* 231e (p. 38.14 Couvereur); Theogn.
1253-54 (vv. 1-2)

Ps.-Luc. *amores* 48 (v. 1)

1 νέοι pro φίλοι ps.-Luc. 2 θηρευταὶ τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι
ἀλλοδαποί Theogn.

24 Stob. 4.33.7 (Θεόγνιδος); Theognis 719-28; Plut. *Sol.*
2.3 (1-6, πολὺς—ἀρμοδία)

ἴσόν τοι πλουτέουσιν, ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστι,
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευραῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν,
5 παιδός τ' ἡδὲ γυναικός, ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφίκηται,
ῶρη, σὺν δ' ἥβη γίνεται ἀρμοδίη.

SOLON

father; for he will be heeding a guide of unerring judgement.

¹ See also Critias test. 1.

23 Plato, *Lysis*

Or does each group love these things, without these things loving them?—thereby giving the lie to the poet who said:

Happy is he who has dear boys,¹ horses of uncloven hoof, hunting dogs, and a friend in foreign parts.

¹ Or “dear sons,” but a pederastic sense seems more probable. Plato has sophistically misrepresented Solon as applying φίλοι (with active meaning, ‘loving’) to the following nouns as well. Only Hermias names Solon as author.

24 Stobaeus, *Anthology* (from Theognis); Theognis; Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

Equally rich is he who has much silver and gold, fields of wheat-bearing land, and horses and mules, and he who has only this, comfort for his stomach, sides, and feet,¹ and whenever this too comes, the season for a boy and for a wife, accompanied by a youthful vigour that fits his needs.² This is wealth for

ELEGIAC POETRY

ταῦτ' ἄφενος θνητοῖσιν· τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
 χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδείς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδεω,
 οὐδ' ἂν ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι, οὐδὲ
 βαρείας

10 νούσους, οὐδὲ κακὸν γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

1 πλουτοῦσιν codd., corr. West ὅσοις Stob.
 3 μόνα ταῦτα Plut., τὰ δέοντα Theogn., τάδε πάντα Stob.
 4 πλευρῇ Plut. 5 ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' Plut., ὅταν δέ κε τῶν(δ')
 Theogn. (Stob.) 6 ἥβη, σὺν δ' ὥρη(ι) Plut. ἀρμοδία
 v.l. Stob. et Theogn., corr. Schneidewin

25 Plut. *amat.* 5.751b

εὖ γε νῆ Δία, ἔφη, τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐμνήσθης, καὶ χρη-
 στέον αὐτῷ γνώμονι τοῦ ἐρωτικοῦ ἀνδρός·

ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ,
 μηρῶν ἰμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος.

Ath. 13.602e; Apul. *apol.* 9 (v. 2)

1 -ήσεις Brunck, -ήσης Ziegler, -ήσει Boissonade
 2 ἰμείρων om. codd. Plut.

26 Plut. *amat.* 5.751e

ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν (fr. 25) ἔγραψε νέος
 ὦν ἔτι καὶ “σπέρματος πολλοῦ μεστός,” ὡς ὁ Πλάτων
 φησί (*Leges* 8.839b)· ταυτὶ δὲ πρεσβύτης γεγόμενος·

ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου
 καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας,

SOLON

mortals, since no one goes to Hades with all his enormous possessions nor can he pay a price to escape death or grim diseases or the onset of evil old age.

¹ I.e., sufficient food, clothing, and footwear. ² Text and translation of v. 6 are uncertain.

25 Plutarch, *Dialogue on Love*

You did well, he said, to mention Solon, and we ought to use him as an index of the erotic man:

until (so long as?) one falls in love with a boy in the lovely flower of youth, desiring thighs and a sweet mouth.

26 Plutarch, *Dialogue on Love*

Hence I think Solon wrote those verses (fr. 25) while he was still young and "full of abundant seed," as Plato puts it, but the following when he was old:

But now the works of the Cyprus-born¹ and of Dionysus and the Muses are dear to me; they bring men good cheer,

ὥσπερ ἐκ ζάλης καὶ χειμῶνος {καὶ} τῶν παιδικῶν
ἐρώτων ἔν τινι γαλήνῃ τῇ περὶ γάμον καὶ φιλοσοφίαν
θέμενος τὸν βίον.

Plut. Sol. 31.7, sept. sap. conv. 13.155e; Hermias in Pl. *Phaedr.*
231e (p. 38.17 Couvreur); P. Hercul. 1384 fr. 1 (vv. 1-2)

27 Philo, *de opif. mundi* 104 (i.36.8 Cohn-Wendland)

τὰς ἡλικίας ταύτας ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σόλων ὁ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων νομοθέτης, ἐλεγεία ποιήσας τάδε·

- παῖς μὲν ἄνηβος ἔων ἔτι νήπιος ἔρκος ὀδόντων
φύσας ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον ἐν ἑπτ' ἔτεσιν.
τοὺς δ' ἐτέρους ὅτε δὴ τελέσῃ θεὸς ἑπτ' ἐνιαυτούς,
ἥβης ἐκφαίνει σήματα γεινομένης.
5 τῇ τριτάτῃ δὲ γένειον ἀεξομένων ἔτι γυίων
λαχνοῦται, χροιῆς ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης.
τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πᾶς τις ἐν ἐβδομάδι μέγ' ἄριστος
ισχύν, ἥ τ' ἄνδρες σήματ' ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς.
πέμπτῃ δ' ὥριον ἄνδρα γάμου μεμνημένον εἶναι
10 καὶ παίδων ζητεῖν εἰσοπίσω γενεήν.
τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἀνδρός,
οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὁμῶς ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει.
ἐπτὰ δὲ νοῦν καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐν ἐβδομάσιν μέγ'
ἄριστος
ὀκτώ τ' ἀμφοτέρων τέσσαρα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη.
15 τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἔτι μὲν δύναται, μαλακώτερα δ' αὐτοῦ
πρὸς μεγάλην ἀρετὴν γλῶσσά τε καὶ σοφίη.

SOLON

as though after the storm and stress of loving boys he placed his life in the calm of marriage and philosophy.

¹ Aphrodite.

27 Philo, *On the Creation of the World*

Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, described these ages of life in the following elegy:

A boy, while still an immature child, in seven years grows a fence of teeth and loses them for the first time. When the god completes another seven years, he shows the signs of coming puberty. In the third hebdomad his body is still growing, his chin becomes downy, and the skin changes its hue. In the fourth everyone is far the best in strength, whereby men show their signs of manliness. In the fifth it is time for a man to be mindful of marriage and to look for a line of sons to come after him. In the sixth a man's mind is being trained for everything and he is no longer as willing to commit acts of foolishness. In the seventh and eighth, a total of fourteen years, he is far the best in thought and speech. In the ninth he still has ability, but his speech and wisdom give weaker proof of a high level of excellence. If one

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τὴν δεκάτην δ' εἴ τις τελέσας κατὰ μέτρον ἵκοιτο,
οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἐὼν μοῖραν ἔχοι θανάτου.

Clem. *Strom.* 6.144.3; Par. 1843 (*Anecd. Par.* i.46 Cramer);
Anatol. π. δεκάδος (p. 37 Heiberg); Apostol. 14.94 (*Paroem. Gr.*
ii.626), vv. 1-18

5 ἐπὶ testes, corr. Bergk	8 ἦν τ' Clem., ἦν τ' Sylburg
πείρατ' Stadtmüller (prob. West)	14 δ' testes, corr. Mangey

28 Plut. *Sol.* 26.1

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο, καὶ διέτριψεν
ὥς καὶ †πρότερον† αὐτός φησι

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι, Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.
προχοαῖσι v.l.

29 Ps.-Plat. π. δικαίου 374a

ἀλλά τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, εὖ ἢ παλαιὰ παροιμία ἔχει ὅτι
πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί.

30 Diogen. 2.99 (*Paroem. Gr.* i.213.11) = Apostol. 4.3 (*Paroem. Gr.* ii.310.14)

“ἀρχῶν ἄκουε καὶ δικαίως καὶ δίκως”· ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Σόλω-
νος ἐλεγείων, παραινετική.

κἂν δίκη κἂν μὴ δίκη v.l. in Diogen.

SOLON

were to complete stage after stage and reach the tenth, he would not have death's allotment prematurely.¹

¹ For a more detailed apparatus of Solon's poem and for Latin paraphrases see West's edition or that of Gentili-Prato (fr. 23).

28 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

First he went to Egypt and, as he himself says, spent time at the mouth of the Nile, near Canopus'¹ shore

¹ The name given to the westernmost branch of the Nile.

29 Pseudo-Plato, *On Justice*

But, Socrates, the ancient proverb is well said, that Poets tell many lies.¹

¹ The schol. ad loc. (p. 402 Greene) states that the proverb is mentioned by Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 F 1) and by Solon.

30 Diogenianus, *Proverbs*

"Obey rulers, however right or wrong." From the elegies¹ of Solon, hortatory.

¹ The meter is iambic, not elegiac. For different versions of the proverb see West's edition.

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30a Io. Diac. in Hermog. (Rabe, *RhM* 63 [1908] 150)

τῆς δὲ τραγωδίας πρῶτον δράμα Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος εἰσήγαγεν, ὥσπερ Σόλων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Ἑλεγεῖαις ἐδίδαξε.

Hexametri

31 Plut. *Sol.* 3.5

ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπεχείρησεν ἐντείννας εἰς ἔπος ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ διαμνημονεύουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἔχουσιν·

πρῶτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῇ
θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῦδος
ὀπάσσαι.

32-35. *Tetrametri*

32 Plut. *Sol.* 14.8

τούτων οὐδὲν ἐξέκρουσε τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν ὡς λέγεται καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίον, οὐκ ἔχειν δ' ἀπόβασιν, πρὸς δὲ Φῶκον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι γράφων

εἰ δὲ γῆς (φησιν) ἐφεισάμην
πατρίδος, τυραννίδος δὲ καὶ βίης ἀμειλίχου

SOLON

30a John the Deacon on Hermogenes

Arion of Methymna introduced the first tragic drama, as Solon has informed us in the elegies ascribed to him.

Dactylic Hexameters

31 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

And some say that he attempted to put his laws into epic verse and publish them, and they record the beginning as follows:

First let us pray to Zeus the king, son of Cronus, to grant these laws success and fame.¹

¹ Attribution to Solon is improbable, since there is no other evidence that he composed in hexameters.

32-35. *Trochaic Tetrameters*

32 Plutarch, *Life of Solon*

None of this (sc. pressure from his friends to become tyrant) shook Solon from his resolve, but he is said to have told his friends that although tyranny was a fine position, there was no way to leave it. And writing in his poems to Phocus¹ he says:

If I spared my homeland and did not grasp tyranny

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οὐ καθηψάμην μιάνας καὶ καταισχύνας κλέος,
οὐδὲν αἰδέομαι· πλέον γὰρ ὦδε νικήσειν δοκέω
5 πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

ὅθεν εὐδηλον ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας μεγάλην
δόξαν εἶχεν.

4 αἰδεῦμαι codd., corr. West

33 Pergit Plut. (14.9-15.1)

ἃ δὲ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα πολλοὶ κατα-
γελῶντες ἔλεγον, γέγραφεν οὕτως·

“οὐκ ἔφν Σόλων βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνὴρ·
ἔσθλα γὰρ θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο·
περιβαλὼν δ’ ἄγρην ἀγασθεὶς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν
μέγα

δίκτυον, θυμοῦ θ’ ἀμαρτῇ καὶ φρενῶν
ἀποσφαλεῖς·

5 ἤθελον γάρ κεν κρατήσας, πλούτον ἄφθονον
λαβὼν

καὶ τυραννεύσας Ἀθηνέων μούνον ἡμέρην μίαν,
ἄσκὸς ὕστερον δεδάρθαι κάπιτετρίφθαι γένος.”

ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ φαύλους περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε
λέγοντας.

3 ἄγραν codd., corr. Bergk 5 ἤθελεν codd., corr.
Xylander 6 ἀθηνῶν codd., corr. Schneidewin ἡμέραν
codd., corr. Bergk

SOLON

and brute force, bringing stain and disgrace on my reputation, I am not ashamed. For I think that in this way I shall be more able to outstrip everyone.

It is quite clear from this that he had a high reputation even before his legislation.

¹ Person unknown.

33 Plutarch continues

And regarding the ridicule which many heaped upon him for shunning tyranny, he has written as follows:

“Solon is by nature a man of shallow mind and a fool. When the god offered him good things, he did not accept them. He cast a great net round his quarry, but stood in wonderment and did not draw it tight, bereft of courage and sense alike. If I had gained power, obtained vast wealth, and become tyrant of Athens for only a single day, I’d be willing to be flayed into a wineskin afterwards and to have my line wiped out.”

This is what he represented many of the common sort as saying about him.

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34 Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 12.3 (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 6)

καὶ πάλιν δὲ ἐτέρωθί που λέγει περὶ τῶν διανείμασθαι
τὴν γῆν βουλομένων·

οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇσιν ἦλθον· ἐλπίδ' εἶχον ἀφνεήν,
κἀδόκ[ε]ον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὐρήσειν πολύν,
καί με κωτίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖν νόον.
χαῦνα μὲν τότε' ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολούμενοι
5 λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶσι πάντες ὥστε δῆϊον.
οὐ χρεῶν· ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶπα, σὺν θεοῖσιν ἦνυσσα,
ἄλλα δ' οὐ μάτην ἔερδον, οὐδέ μοι τυραννίδος
ἀνδάνει βίηι τι [..].ε[ι]ν, οὐδὲ πιεί[ρ]ης χθονὸς
πατρίδος κακοῖσιν ἐσθλοὺς ἰσομοιρίην ἔχειν.

Sequitur fr. 36.

Plut. *Sol.* 16.3 (vv. 4-5)

Aristides *or.* 28.137 (ii.184.29 Keil), vv. 6-7

1 οἱ δ' . . . ἦλθον editores plerique: οἱ δ' . . . ἦλθον Richards,
West, alii ἀρπαγαισιν pap., corr. West ἀρπαγῇ
συνῆλθον Richards ἀφνεαν pap., corr. West 2]υν
pap., corr. West 8 ἦνδανεν Richards βια pap., corr.
West [ῥέζ]ειν Kenyon πιει[.]ας pap., corr. West
9 ἰσομοιριαν pap., corr. West

36-40. Trimetri

36 Pergit Arist. (v. ad fr. 34) = L; hic accedit P. Berol.

[πάλιν] (suppl. Kenyon) δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀπ[οκ]οπῆς
τῶν χ[ρε]ῶν καὶ τῶν δουλευόντων μὲν πρότερον, ἐλευ-

SOLON

34 Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*

And again in another place he speaks of those who wanted a redistribution of the land:

And others¹ came for plunder; they had hopes of wealth, each one of them thinking that he would find much prosperity and that I, for all my gentle prattle, would reveal a harsh disposition. They had foolish thoughts then, and now they are angry and they all look askance at me as if I were their enemy. They should not. With the help of the gods I have accomplished what I said I would, and other fruitless measures I did not take; it gives me no pleasure to act(?) with the violence of tyranny or to share the country's rich land equally between the lower and upper classes.²

¹ Or reading οἱ, "those who came for plunder had . . ."

² On the interpretation of this final segment see V. J. Rosivach, "Redistribution of Land in Solon, Fragment 34 West," *JHS* 112 (1992) 153-57.

36-40. *Iambic Trimeters*

36 Aristotle continues

And again on the cancellation of debts and on those who

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θερωθέντων δὲ διὰ τὴν σεισάχθειαν·

- ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐνεκα ξυνήγαγον
 δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην;
 συμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκη χρόνου
 μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων
 5 ἄριστα, Γῇ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε
 ὄρους ἀνείλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας·
 πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρη.
 πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας πατρίδ' ἐς θεόκτιτον
 ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
 10 ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ
 χρειοῦς φυγόντας, γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
 ἰέντας, ὥς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους·
 τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
 ἔχοντας, ἦθη δεσποτέων τρομεομένους,
 15 ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα. ταῦτα μὲν κράτει
 ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην ξυναρμόσας
 ἔρεξα, καὶ διῆλθον ὥς ὑπεσχόμην·
 θεσμοὺς δ' ὁμοίως τῷ κακῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ
 εὐθείαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀρμόσας δίκην
 20 ἔγραψα. κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὥς ἐγὼ λαβών,
 κακοφραδῆς τε καὶ φιλοκτῆμων ἀνὴρ,
 οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον· εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
 ἂ τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἥνδανεν τότε,
 αὐτὶς δ' ἂ τοῖσιν οὐτεροι φρασαίατο,
 25 πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἦδ' ἐχηρώθη πόλις.
 τῶν οὐνεκ' ἀλκὴν πάντοθεν ποιέόμενος

SOLON

were slaves before and were set free by the shaking-off of burdens:¹

Before achieving what of the goals for which I brought the people together² did I stop? In the verdict of time I will have as my best witness the mighty mother of the Olympian gods, dark Earth, whose boundary markers³ fixed in many places I once removed; enslaved before, now she is free. And I brought back to Athens, to their homeland founded by the gods, many who had been sold, one legally another not, and those who had fled under necessity's constraint, no longer speaking the Attic tongue, as wanderers far and wide are inclined to do. And those who suffered shameful slavery right here, trembling before the whims of their masters, I set free. These things I did by the exercise of my power, blending together force and justice, and I persevered to the end as I promised. I wrote laws for the lower and upper classes alike, providing a straight legal process for each person. If another had taken up the goad as I did, a man who gave bad counsel and was greedy, he would not have restrained the masses. For if I had been willing to do what then was pleasing to their opponents and in turn whatever the others [i.e., the masses] planned for them, this city would have been bereft of many men. For that reason I set up a defence on every

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ὥς ἐν κυσὶν πολλῇσιν ἐστράφην λύκος.

Aristides *or.* 28.138-40 (ii.185.6 Keil), vv. 3-27

Plut. *Sol.* 15.6 (vv. 6-7, 11-14, γλῶσσαν—ἔχοντας)

Plut. *Sol.* 15.1 (v. 16)

3 Χρόνου praeferunt aliqui	7 ἐλευθέρα libri, corr.
Ahrens	12 δὴ pro ἄν West
Schneidewin	14 δεσποτῶν libri, corr.
	τρομευμένους libri, corr. West
26 ποιούμενος L, corr. West	27 πολλαί. [.]. L, πολλαῖσιν
Aristid., corr. Wilcken	

37 Pergit Arist.

καὶ πάλιν ὀνειδίζων πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον αὐτῶν μεμψι-
μοιρίας ἀμφοτέρων

δήμῳ μὲν εἰ χρὴ διαφάδην ὀνειδίσαι,
ἂ νῦν ἔχουσιν οὐ ποτ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἂν
εὐδοντες εἶδον . . .

5 ὅσοι δὲ μείζους καὶ βίην ἀμείνονες,
αἰνοῖεν ἄν με καὶ φίλον ποιοίατο.

εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος, φησί, ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν,

οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον, οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο,
πρὶν ἀνταράξας πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα.
ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν μεταιχμίῳ
ὄρος κατέστην.

Plut. *Sol.* 16.4 (vv. 6-7)

1 διαφραδην pap., corr. Kondos	4 βίαν pap., corr. West
6 οὐτ' . . . οὐτ' Plut.	7 πναρ pap., πῖαρ Plut.
	ἐξέλη Plut.

SOLON

side and turned about like a wolf among a pack of dogs.

¹ A literal translation of *seisachtheia*. The term was given to Solon's cancellation of debts and according to Plutarch (*Solon* 15.2) it was a euphemism actually coined by Solon. ² Precise meaning disputed. ³ As a sign of mortgaged land.

37 Aristotle continues

And again rebuking both sides for the complaints they made afterwards:

If I must rebuke the masses openly, their eyes would never have seen in their dreams what they now have . . . And those who are greater and stronger would praise me and treat me as their friend.

For if someone else, he says, had obtained this office, he would not have restrained the masses nor would he have stopped until he had stirred up the milk and got rid of the cream.¹ But I stood in no-man's-land² between them like a boundary marker.

¹ Meaning and syntax disputed. My translation assumes that milk = the state and cream = the aristocracy, but perhaps preferable is "until he had stirred up the masses and removed the cream from the milk," although the general meaning remains the same. See T. C. W. Stinton, *JHS* 96 (1976) 159-62. ² A military metaphor, here perhaps standing for Athens itself.

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38 Ath. 14.645f

γούρος ὅτι πλακοῦντος εἶδος ὁ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις
φησὶν·

5 πίνουσι· καὶ τρώγουσιν οἱ μὲν ἴτρια,
οἱ δ' ἄρτον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συμμεμιγμένους
γούρους φακοῖσι· κείθι δ' οὔτε πεμμάτων
ἄπεστιν οὐδ' ἓν, ἄσσ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι γῇ
φέρει μέλαινα, πάντα δ' ἀφθόνως πάρα.

4 ἑνασσειν cod., corr. West: alii alia

39 Pollux 10.103

καὶ ἴγδιν δὲ αὐτὴν (τὴν θυνείαν) κεκλήκασι Σόλων τε ἐν
τοῖς ἰάμβοις λέγων·

σπεύδουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἴγδιν, οἱ δὲ σίλφιον,
οἱ δ' ὄξος.

1 σπεῦ, σπενσίδα etc. codd., corr. Casaubon

40 Phryn. Ecl. 374 (pp. 102 et 122 Fischer)

ἔτι καὶ νῦν κόκκωνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς· καὶ
γὰρ ὁ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ποιήμασιν οὕτω χρῆται·

†κόκκωνας δὲ† ἄλλος, †ἕτερος† δὲ σήσαμα.

κόκκωνας ἄλλος vel κόκκωνα δ' ἄλλος Lobeck οὔτερος
Kalinka

SOLON

38 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Solon says in his iambics that *gouros* is a kind of cake:

They are drinking; and some are eating cakes,¹ others bread, and others *gouroi* mixed with lentils. No pastry which the dark earth brings forth among mankind is lacking there, but everything is present in abundance.

¹ Athenaeus goes on (646d) to define *itrion* as a thin cake made with sesame and honey. The word *gouros* is not attested elsewhere.

39 Pollux, *Vocabulary*

They call mortar *igdis*, as does Solon in his iambics:

Some are hurrying for a mortar, others for *silphium*, and others for vinegar.¹

¹ It is unclear what kind of situation is being described here. *Silphium* is a plant whose juice was used as a medicine and as a pungent food flavouring. In the latter sense it goes well enough with vinegar, but neither seems an appropriate combination with mortar. There is some evidence that *igdis* could also be a type of dance and perhaps Pollux misunderstood Solon's meaning. Some assume that frs. 38-41 came from the same poem.

40 Phrynichus, *Attic Words and Phrases*

Even to this day the majority rightly call the pomegranate seed *kokkōn*. In fact Solon uses it thus in his poetry:

One (hurries for?, brings?) pomegranate seeds, another sesame.

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41 Phot. *lex.* (ii.136 Naber)

ρόυν· τὸ ἡδυσμα. Σόλων.

43 Choric. *or.* 2.5 (p. 29.10 Foerster-Richtsteig)

γῇ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐπίσταται φέρειν ὅσα
τίκτουσιν ὦραι, ὑπτία τε πᾶσα καθειμένη καὶ τὸ τοῦ
Σόλωνος

λιπαρὴ¹ κουροτρόφος.

45 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 10.7.1177b31

οὐ χρὴ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παραινοῦντας ἀνθρώπινα φρο-
νεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα.

Michael ad loc. (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* xx.591.14)

τινὲς μὲν Θεόγνιδός φασιν εἶναι τὴν γνώμην ταύτην,
οἱ δὲ Σόλωνος.

SOLON

41 Photius, *Lexicon*

ῥοῦς ('sumach') as a seasoning occurs in Solon.

43 Choricus, *Declamations*

For the earth knows how to produce for its inhabitants all that the Seasons give birth to, since it stretches down entirely on its back and is, in the words of Solon,

a rich nurse of children¹

¹ Probably from an elegiac pentameter.

45 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

We ought not to follow those who recommend that a man have thoughts suitable to a man.

Michael on the passage

Some say that this maxim belongs to Theognis, others to Solon.

THEOGNIS

TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda* (ii.692.13 Adler)

Θέογνις, Μεγαρεύς, τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγάρων, γεγρονὼς ἐν τῇ νθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, γνῶμας δι' ἐλεγείας ὥς (εἰς ed. pr.) ἔπη ,βώ', καὶ πρὸς Κύρ<ν>ον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων, καὶ ἑτέρας ὑποθήκας παραινετικάς, τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς (ἔπη ,βώ' Ditzzen). ὅτι μὲν παραινέσεις ἔγραψε Θέογνις, <χρήσιμος> ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων παρεσπαρ-

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Listed below are the sigla for the manuscripts recorded in the apparatus. For further details see West's edition (pp. xi-xiii) and Young's Teubner edition (pp. vii-ix, xx, xxviii-xxix).

A = Paris. suppl. gr. 388 (early 10th century)

O = Vat. gr. 915 (early 14th century)

X = Lond. Add. 16409 (c. 1300)

D = Paris. gr. 2739 (mid 15th century)

Ur = Vat. Urb. gr. 95 (c. 1430)

I = Marc. gr. 774 (mid 15th century)

o = a lost MS of which O is a copy (c. 1300)

p = a lost MS of which X is a copy (c. 1299)

TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda*

Theognis, a Megarian from the Megara in Sicily,¹ flourished in the 59th Olympiad (544/41).² He wrote an elegy on those saved from the Syracusans in the siege,³ elegiac maxims totaling about 2800 verses,⁴ a collection of elegiac maxims addressed to Cynus his beloved, and other hortatory precepts,⁵ all in the epic dialect. Theognis (is useful) because he wrote exhortations. But in the midst of these

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μέναι μιάρια καὶ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ὁ
ἐνάρετος ἀποστρέφεται βίος.

γνώμας—βω' del. West <χρήσιμος> add. West

2 Pl. *Leges* 1.630a

ἡμεῖς δέ γε ἀγαθῶν ὄντων τούτων ἔτι φαμέν ἀμείνους
εἶναι καὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πολέμῳ γιγνο-
μένους ἀρίστους διαφανῶς· ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς
μάρτυρ' ἔχομεν, Θεόγνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ
Μεγαρέων, ὅς φησιν (vn. 77-78).

3 Schol. ad loc. (p. 301 Greene)

περὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ταύτης ἱστορίας
ἀμφιβολία πολλὴ ἐγένετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν
φασιν αὐτὸν ἐκ Μεγάρων γεγενῆσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς·
οὕτως ὁ Δίδυμος, ἐπιφνόμενος τῷ Πλάτῳ ὡς παρ-
ιστοροῦντι· οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐκ Σικελίας. εἰ δὲ μὴ καὶ εἴη ἐκ
Σικελίας, οὐδὲν λυμαίνεται τὸ προκείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

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are scattered foul and pederastic poems and other verses on which the virtuous life turns its back.⁶

¹ See testt. 2-4. ² Other sources give the 58th or 57th Olympiad (p. 57 Garzya). ³ Nothing is known of this poem and some attribute it to the tragic poet Theognis whom the *Suda* goes on to record as one of the 30 tyrants. ⁴ Roughly double the size of the present corpus and perhaps "a mistake in the reckoning occasioned by the addition of two totals found in different sources" (Hudson-Williams 101). ⁵ It is unclear whether these and the maxims addressed to Cynus are being represented as separate works or as parts of the 2800. ⁶ These were collected in Book II, although the segregation actually occurred before the date of the *Suda*, since MS A, which alone preserves Book II, is earlier than the compilation of the *Suda* (2nd half of the 10th cent.).

2 Plato, *Laws*

But brave though these men are, we still say that even much braver are those who are conspicuously brave in the greatest of wars. And we also have as witness a poet, Theognis, a citizen of the Megarians in Sicily,¹ who says (vv. 77-78).

¹ See test. 3.

3 Scholiast on the passage

There was much controversy among the ancients concerning Theognis and this information about him. Some say that he was from Attic Megara (this is the view of Didymus who attacks Plato for giving false information), while others say that he was from Sicily. Even if he were not from Sicily, the present passage does not mistreat him, but does

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τοῦναντίον· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ἀττικοῦ ὥς Ἀθηναῖος λέγει, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πρὸς Ἀθηναῖον αὐτὸν παραβάλλων τὸν Τυρταῖον, τὸ ἀληθὲς περὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐφύλαξεν καὶ τὸν Θεόγνιν καὶ ξένον ὄντα προέκρινεν. τί δὲ ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν ἐκ ταύτης μὲν εἶναι τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ἀπελθόντα δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν, ὥς ἱστορία ἔχει, γενέσθαι νόμῳ Μεγαρέα ἐκεῖ, ὥς καὶ τὸν Τυρταῖον Λακεδαιμόνιον;

4 Harpocration (pp. 126-27 Keaney)

Θεόγνις· οὗτος δ' ἦν Μεγαρεύς, ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ Μεγάρων. αὐτὸς γάρ φησιν ὁ ποιητής (v. 783). ὁ μὲν ἐπιστήσας Πλάτων ἐν α' Νόμων (test. 2) τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων πολίτην ἔφασκεν. κατηκολούθησαν δὲ τῷ Πλάτωνι οὐκ ὀλίγοι.

5 Isoc. Nicocl. 42-43

ἐπεὶ κακὲῖνό μοι πρόδηλον ἦν, ὅτι τὰ συμβουλευόντα καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων χρησιμώτατα μὲν ἅπαντες νομίζουσιν, οὐ μὲν ἡδιστα γ' αὐτῶν ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλὰ πεπόνθασιν ὅπερ πρὸς τοὺς

THEOGNIS

the opposite. For Plato is not speaking as an Athenian on behalf of an Athenian, but although comparing him with an Athenian, Tyrtaeus, he kept to the truth in judging them and preferred Theognis even though a foreigner. What prevented his being from this Megara and after going to Sicily, as Plato's account implies, becoming a Megarian there according to the law, just as Tyrtaeus became a Spartan?¹

¹ The scholiast interprets Plato to mean that just as Tyrtaeus was an Athenian by birth but became a Spartan (see Tyrt. test. 2), so Theognis was from Megara on the Isthmus of Corinth but became a citizen of Megara's colony (Hyblaeon Megara) in Sicily. This interpretation of Plato's words may be correct, but there is no evidence in the corpus that Theognis was a citizen of Hyblaeon Megara and the modern consensus is that he came from mainland Megara. See also test. 4.

4 Harpocration, *Lexicon of the Ten Attic Orators*

Theognis was a Megarian from Attic Megara. The poet says this himself (v. 783).¹ Plato did not pay attention to this when he said in Book 1 of the *Laws* that Theognis was a citizen of Megara in Sicily. And many have followed Plato.

¹ 783 merely states that the speaker visited Sicily. See notes on 773-88.

5 Isocrates, *To Nicocles*

Moreover this too was clear to me, that although all consider words of advice both in poetry and in prose to be most useful, they certainly do not derive the greatest pleasure from listening to them, but their attitude towards

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νουθετοῦντας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐπαινοῦσι μέν, πλη-
σιάζειν δὲ βούλονται τοῖς συνεξαμαρτάνουσιν, ἀλλ'
οὐ τοῖς ἀποτρέπουσιν. σημεῖον δ' ἂν τις ποιήσαιο
τὴν Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποίησιν·
καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασὶ μέν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμ-
βούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες
αἰροῦνται συνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μάλ-
λον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις ἐκλέξειε τῶν
προεχόντων ποιητῶν τὰς καλουμένας γνώμας, ἐφ' αἷς
ἐκείνοι μάλιστ' ἐσπούδασαν, ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ πρὸς
ταύτας διατεθεῖεν· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν κωμωδίας τῆς φανλο-
τάτης ἢ τῶν οὕτω τεχνικῶς πεποιημένων ἀκούσειαν.

6 Stob. 4.29.53

Ξενοφῶντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος. “Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν
ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως” (22-23). οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητῆς περὶ
οὐδενὸς ἄλλου λόγον πεποίηται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ
κακίας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐστιν ἡ ποίησις σύγγραμμα
περὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἱππικὸς ὢν συγγράψειεν
περὶ ἱππικῆς. ἡ οὖν ἀρχή μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ποιήσεως
ὀρθῶς ἔχειν· ἀρχεται γὰρ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὖ γενέ-
σθαι. ᾧετο γὰρ οὐτ' ἄνθρωπον οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν
ἂν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τὰ γεννῆσοντα ἀγαθὰ εἴη.
ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ παραδείγμασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις
χρήσασθαι, ὅσα μὴ εἰκῇ τρέφεται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τέχνης
ἕκαστα θεραπεύεται, ὅπως γενναιότατα ἔσονται.
δηλοῖ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι (183-90). ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη λέγει

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them is the same as their attitude towards those who admonish; for although they praise the latter, they prefer to associate with those who share in their follies and not with those who seek to dissuade them. As proof one could cite the poetry of Hesiod, Theognis, and Phocylides;¹ for people say that these have been the best advisers for human life, but while saying this they prefer to occupy themselves with one another's follies than with the precepts of those poets. And furthermore, if one were to select from the foremost poets those maxims, as they are called, to which they had given their most serious attention, people would treat these in the same way too; for they would more gladly listen to the most paltry comedy than to such proficient compositions.

¹ Phocylides and Theognis are frequently combined.

6 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Xenophon's¹ work on Theognis. "They are the verses of Theognis of Megara" (22-23). This poet's composition is about nothing else than human excellence and vice, and his poetry is a treatise on people, just as if a horseman were to write about horsemanship. And so the primary element² of his poetry seems to me to be correct, since it is about good birth. For he believed that neither a person nor anything else could be good unless the progenitors were good. He therefore decided to use as examples other living creatures which are not raised at random, but which are systematically attended to in each case so that they will be of the best descent. He makes this clear in his verses (183-

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τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπίσταςθαι γεννᾶν ἐξ ἀλλήλων,
κᾶτα γίγνεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων κάκιον αἰεὶ
μειγνύμενον τὸ χεῖρον τῷ βελτίονι. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐκ
τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατηγορεῖν καὶ ἀντὶ χρημάτων
ἀγένειαν καὶ κακίαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι εἰδότας.
ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ἄγνοιαν κατηγορεῖν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν
βίον.

ELEGIAC POEMS

Book I

1-4

ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱέ, Διὸς τέκος, οὔποτε σείο
λήσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαυόμενος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἔν τε μέσοισιν
αἰείσω· σὺ δέ μοι κλύθι καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου.

5-10

5 Φοῖβε ἄναξ, ὅτε μέν σε θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητώ,
φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη,

THEOGNIS

90). These verses mean that people do not know how to procreate from one another and as a result the human race is becoming worse because the worse is ever mingled with the better. But many think on the basis of these verses that the poet is leveling accusations against human greed and against those who know how to make money compensate for low birth and vice.³ But it seems to me that he is accusing them of lack of knowledge about their own lives.

¹ There is much debate about whether this is the well-known Athenian writer born c. 430 B.C. or some unknown figure. The only other reference to a work on Theognis is the two books recorded by Diogenes Laertius 6.16 in his list of Antisthenes' writings.

² Since ἀρχή can also mean 'beginning,' some argue that the edition of Theognis used by Xenophon began with the verses cited below (183-90).

³ This sentence is ungrammatical and presumably has suffered corruption. I have translated what seems to be the general sense.

ELEGIAC POEMS

Book I

1-4

O lord, son of Leto, child of Zeus,¹ I will never forget you at the beginning or at the end, but I will ever sing of you first, last, and in between; and do you give ear to me and grant me success.

¹ Apollo.

5-10

Lord Phoebus, when the august goddess Leto gave birth to you, fairest of the immortals, as she clasped

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10 ἀθανάτων κάλλιστον, ἐπὶ τροχοειδέι λίμνῃ,
 πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ
 ὁδμῆς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη,
 γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἄλὸς πολιῆς.

6 ῥαδινῆς codd. plerique

11-14

Ἄρτεμι θηροφόνῃ, θύγατερ Διός, ἣν Ἀγαμέμνων
 εἶσαθ' ὅτ' ἐς Τροίην ἔπλεε νηυσὶ θεῶν,
 εὐχομένῳ μοι κλύθι, κακὰς δ' ἀπὸ κῆρας ἄλαλκε
 σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο, θεά, σμικρόν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα.

Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 7.10.1243a18 (v. 14)

12 θεαῖς v.l. 14 θεᾶ (cum rasura) μικρὸν A, θεὸς μικρὸν
 codd. Arist.

15-18

15 Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες, κοῦραι Διός, αἳ ποτε
 Κάδμον
 ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι καλὸν ἀείσατ' ἔπος,
 “ὅττι καλὸν φίλον ἐστί, τὸ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ φίλον
 ἐστί”·
 τοῦτ' ἔπος ἀθανάτων ἦλθε διὰ στομάτων.

19-38

20 Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
 τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν· λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα,

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the palm-tree with her slender arms beside the circular lake,¹ all Delos was filled from end to end with an ambrosial aroma, the vast earth beamed, and the deep expanse of the white-capped sea rejoiced.

¹ Actually a pond used as a reservoir.

11-14

Artemis, slayer of wild beasts, daughter of Zeus, for whom Agamemnon set up a temple¹ when he was preparing to sail on his swift ships to Troy, give ear to my prayer and ward off the evil death-spirits. For you, goddess, this is a small thing, but for me it is critical.²

¹ According to Pausanias 1.43.1 Agamemnon set up this temple in Megara when he went there to persuade Calchas to accompany him to Troy. ² The author, identified by Aristotle as Theognis, is presumably about to go on a voyage and is praying to Artemis in her capacity as the protector of seafarers.

15-18

Muses and Graces, daughters of Zeus, who came once to the wedding of Cadmus¹ and sang the lovely verse, "What is beautiful is loved, what is not beautiful is not loved." This is the verse that went through your immortal lips.

¹ The wedding in Thebes of Cadmus and Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, was attended by the gods.

19-38¹

For me, a skilled and wise poet, let a seal,² Cynos,³ be placed on these verses. Their theft will never pass

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οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος,
 ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· “Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
 τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους
 ὀνομαστός”.

25 ἀστοῖσιν δ’ οὐπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι.
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, Πολυπαῖδῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς
 οὔθ’ ὕων πάντεσσ’ ἀνδάνει οὔτ’ ἀνέχων.
 σοὶ δ’ ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷάπερ αὐτός,
 Κύρν’, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ’ ἐὼν ἔμαθον.
 πέπνυσο, μηδ’ αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ’ ἔργμασι μηδ’
 ἀδίκοισιν

30 τιμὰς μηδ’ ἀρετὰς ἔλκεο μηδ’ ἄφενος.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι· κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ προσομίλει
 ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχει·
 καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν
 ἵζε, καὶ ἄνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις.
 35 ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ’ ἐσθλὰ μαθήσεται· ἦν δὲ
 κακοῖσι

συμμίσγῃς, ἀπολείς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.
 ταῦτα μαθὼν ἀγαθοῖσιν ὁμίλει, καί ποτε φήσεις
 εὖ συμβουλεύειν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ.

Xenophon ap. Stob. 4.29.53 (v. test. 6), vv. 22-23 (Θεόγνι-
 δος—Μεγαρέως)

P. Berol. 12319 (ostrakon), vv. 25-26 (οὐδε—ἀνεχειν)

Plat. *Meno* 95d; Musonius (p. 62 Hense) ap. Stob. 4.15.18 (vv.
 33-36)

Nicostratus π. γάμου ap. Stob. 4.23.64 (vv. 33-35 confuse)

Xen. *conv.* 2.4; id. *mem.* 1.2.20 (+ Stob. 3.29.95); Clem. *Strom.*

THEOGNIS

unnoticed, nor will anyone take something worse in exchange when that which is good is at hand, but everyone will say, "They are the verses of Theognis of Megara, and he is famous among all men;"⁴ but I am not yet able to please all the townsmen. It's not surprising, Polypaïdes, since not even Zeus pleases everyone when he sends rain or holds back.⁵ It is with kind thoughts for you that I shall give you advice such as I myself, Cyrnus, learned from noble men while still a child. Be sensible and do not, at the cost of shameful or unjust acts, seize for yourself prestige, success or wealth. Know that this is so, and do not seek the company of base men, but always cling to the noble.⁶ Drink and dine with them, sit with them, and be pleasing to those whose power is great. For from the noble you will learn noble things, but if you mingle with the base, you will lose even the sense you have. Knowing this, associate with the noble, and one day you will say that I give good advice to my friends.

¹ There is no agreement whether these verses represent one poem, two poems (19-30, 31-38) or three (19-26, 27-30, 31-38). On this, and also on Theognis' date, see H. Friis Johansen, *C&M* 42 (1991) 5-37, 44 (1993) 5-29, and 47 (1996) 9-23.

² The most disputed word in the entire corpus. Among the explanations are: Theognis' name (v. 22), Cyrnus' name, poetic style, political and ethical contents, and a literal seal affixed to a written copy of Theognis' poems.

³ Theognis' beloved boy. The name, together with the patronymic (v. 25), appears numerous times in the corpus.

⁴ Many end the quotation with the word Megara.

⁵ Cf. vv. 801-4.

⁶ The words *ἀγαθός/ἔσθλός* and *κακός/δαιλός* occur frequently in the corpus as an indication of social sta-

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5.52.4; Nicolaus *Progymn.* (p. 27.2 Felten); schol. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 9.9.7 (*Anecd. Par.* i.229.4 Cramer), vv. 35-36

22 πᾶς ἐρέειρ 23 ὀνομαστοῦρ 29 πέπνυο Bergk
33 μετὰ τῶν σύ γε Muson., Nicostr.: παρὰ τοῖσιν Plato
35 διδάξαι Plato, Xen., Nicol. 36 ἐνόντα Xen. *mem.* cod.
A, Nicol. codd. plerique 37 ὁμίλεε codd., corr. West

39-52

Κύρνε, ἰκύνει πόλις ἡδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα
40 εὐθυντήρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης.
ἄστοι μὲν γὰρ ἔθ' οἶδε σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ
τετράφεται πολλὴν εἰς κακότητα πεσεῖν.
οὐδεμίαν πω, Κύρν', ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ὤλεσαν
ἄνδρες·
ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοῖσιν ἄδη,
45 δῆμόν τε φθείρῳσι δίκας τ' ἀδίκοισι διδῶσιν
οἰκείων κερδέων εἵνεκα καὶ κράτεος,
ἔλπεο μὴ δηρὸν κείνην πόλιν ἀτρεμίεσθαι,
μηδ' εἰ νῦν κεῖται πολλῇ ἐν ἡσυχίῃ,
εὐτ' ἂν τοῖσι κακοῖσι φίλ' ἀνδράσι ταῦτα
γένηται,
50 κέρδεα δημοσίῳ σὺν κακῷ ἐρχόμενα.
ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φόνοι
ἀνδρῶν
μούναρχοί τε πόλει μήποτε τῇδε ἄδοι.

40 ὑμετέρης ο 45 φθείρουσι et διδοῦσι A
47 ἀτρεμέεσθαι codd., corr. Wackernagel: ἀτρεμιείσθαι Bergk,
ἀτρέμε' ἦσθαι Young, alii alia 52 μούναρχος ρ τε pro
δὲ Leutsch θ' ᾧ Ahrens

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tus, essentially to distinguish between aristocrats (like Theognis) and the rest, including those who are aristocrats by birth but do not behave as such.

39-52¹

Cyrnus, this city is pregnant and I am afraid she will give birth to a man who will set right² our wicked insolence. These townsmen are still of sound mind, but their leaders³ have changed and fallen into the depths of depravity. Never yet, Cyrnus, have noble men destroyed a city, but whenever the base take delight in outrageous behaviour and ruin the people and give judgements in favour of the unjust, for the sake of their own profit and power, do not expect that city to remain quiet long, even if it is now utterly calm, whenever this is dear to base men, profit that comes along with public harm.⁴ From this arise civil strife, the spilling of kindred blood, and tyrants; may this city never delight in that.

¹ Treated by some as two poems (39-42, 43-52). Vv. 39-42 reappear as 1081-82b, with a difference between only 40 and 1082.

² I.e., a tyrant (cf. v. 52). The only tyrant of Megara we know of was Theagenes, whose rule ended c. 600, but Theognis may well be afraid that another tyrant will arise.

³ Presumably the ruling oligarchs, members of the aristocracy, but since they do not behave as 'noble' men should, they can be called 'base' (vv. 44, 49).

⁴ The punctuation of vv. 43-50 is disputed, depending in part on whether the subjunctive or indicative is read in v. 45. I have followed West, but with no great confidence.

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53-68

55 Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἦδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι
 οἱ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἦδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,
 ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον,
 ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος.
 καὶ νῦν εἰς' ἀγαθοί, Πολυπαῖδης· οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἐσθλοὶ
 νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν;
 60 ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες,
 οὔτε κακῶν γνώμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν.
 μηδένα τῶνδε φίλον ποιεῦ, Πολυπαῖδης, ἀστῶν
 ἐκ θυμοῦ χρεΐης οὔνεκα μηδεμιῆς·
 ἀλλὰ δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι,
 65 χρῆμα δὲ συμμείξης μηδενὶ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν
 σπουδαῖον· γνώση γὰρ οἰζυρῶν φρένας ἀνδρῶν,
 ὥς σφιν ἐπ' ἔργοισιν πίστις ἔπ' οὔδεμία,
 ἀλλὰ δόλους ἀπάτας τε πολυπλοκίας τ' ἐφίλησαν
 οὔτως ὥς ἄνδρες μηκέτι σωζόμενοι.

55 πλευρῆσι p 56 τήνδ' . . . πόλιν ο 62 εἵνεκα ο

69-72

70 μήποτε, Κύρνε, κακῶ πίσυρος βούλευε σὺν ἀνδρί,
 εὖτ' ἂν σπουδαῖον πρῆγμ' ἐθέλης τελέσαι,
 ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐσθλὸν ἰὼν βούλευε καὶ πολλὰ
 μογήσαι
 καὶ μακρὴν ποσσίν, Κύρν', ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαι.

71 βούλευε καὶ A, βούλευε O, βουλεύεο p
 71-72 μογήσας et ἐκτελέσας A²p

THEOGNIS

53-68¹

Cyrnus, this city is still a city, but the people are different, people who formerly knew neither justice nor laws, but wore tattered goatskins about their sides and lived outside this city like deer. And now they are noble, Polypaïdes, while those who were noble before are now base. Who can endure the sight of this? They deceive one another and mock one another, knowing neither the distinctive marks of the base nor those of the noble.² Make none of these townsmen your sincere friend, Polypaïdes, because of any need. Seem in speech to be the friend of everyone, but share with no one any serious matter whatsoever. If you do, you will come to know the minds of men who are wretched, since there is no trust to be placed in their actions, but they love treachery, deceit, and craftiness, just like men beyond salvation.

¹ Some divide into two poems (53-60, 61-68). ² Vv. 57-60 recur, with some variation, in 1109-10 and 1113-14. West agrees with Schneidewin that 1111-12 should be inserted after 58.

69-72

Never trust or take counsel with a base man, Cyrnus, whenever you want to accomplish a serious matter, but be willing, Cyrnus, to endure much toil and to cover a long journey in search of a noble man.

ELEGIAC POETRY

73-74

πρήξιν μηδὲ φίλοισιν ὅλως ἀνακοινέο πᾶσιν·
παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.

73 ἀνακοίνεο *Λο. -έο* *Par. 2833*

75-76

75 παύροισιν πίσυνος μεγάλ' ἀνδράσιν ἔργ'
ἐπιχείρει,
μή ποτ' ἀνήκεστον, Κύρνε, λάβης ἀνίην.

77-78

πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου
ἀντερύσασθαι
ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.

Plat. Leges 1.630a (v. test. 2), vv. 77-78

79-82

80 παύρους εὐρήσεις, Πολυπαῖδη, ἄνδρας ἐταίρους
πιστοὺς ἐν χαλεποῖς πρήγμασι γινομένους,
οἷτινες ἂν τολμῶεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἴσον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τε κακῶν μετέχειν.

Themist. or. 22.265a (vv. 79-80)

83-86

85 τούτους οὐχ εὖροις διζήμενος οὐδ' ἐπὶ πάντας
ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ναῦς μὴ μία πάντας ἄγοι,
οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσση τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεστιν
αἰδώς, οὐδ' αἰσχροὺς χρήμ' ἐπὶ κέρδος ἄγει.

83 οὐ χ' *van der Mey, editores plerique*

THEOGNIS

73-74

Don't deliberate at all on an enterprise even with any of your friends; few indeed out of many friends have a mind that is trustworthy.

75-76

Trust few men when you attempt important enterprises, lest one day, Cynus, you get pain beyond cure.

77-78

A trustworthy man is worth his weight in gold and silver,¹ Cynus, in times of harsh civil strife.

¹ Literally, "is worthy of being weighed against gold and silver."

79-82

You will find few men, Polypaïdes, who are loyal comrades in difficult enterprises, men who can be of one mind with you and can bring themselves to share equally in both the good times and the bad.

83-86

Not even if you searched among all men would you find so many that a single ship could not carry them all, men on whose tongue and eyes there is a sense of shame and whom profit does not lead to a disgraceful act.

ELEGIAC POETRY

87-90

μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας
ἄλλη

εἷ με φιλεῖς καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

ἦ με φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἦ μ' ἀποειπὼν
90 ἔχθαιρ' ἀμφαδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.

91-92

ὅς δὲ μιῇ γλώσση δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἐταῖρος
δεινός, Κύρν'· ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίλος ὢν.

92 δειλὸς West (noluit Brunck)

93-100

ἄν τις ἐπαινῇ σε τόσον χρόνον ὅσον ὀρώης,
νοσφισθεὶς δ' ἄλλη γλώσσαν ἱῇσι κακὴν,
95 τοιοῦτός τοι ἐταῖρος ἀνὴρ φίλος οὐ τι μάλ'
ἐσθλός.

ὅς κ' εἶπη γλώσση λεία, φρονῇ δ' ἕτερα.
ἀλλ' εἴη τοιοῦτος ἐμοὶ φίλος, ὅς τὸν ἐταῖρον
γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει
ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
100 φράζεο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσεται ἐξοπίσω.

93 εἰ p ἐπαινῇσει ο ὀρώη p 94 ἄλλη p, ἄλλην
AO 96 λώια AO, λῶστα p, corr. Richards

THEOGNIS

87-90

Don't show affection for me in your words but keep your mind and heart elsewhere, if you love me and the mind within you is loyal. Either love me sincerely or renounce me, hate me, and quarrel openly.¹

¹ These verses recur, with variation, in 1082c-f. Many combine 87-90 with 91-92, but it seems better, with West, to assume that 1083-84 once followed 90.

91-92

He who says one thing but thinks another is a dangerous comrade, Cynus, better an enemy than a friend.

93-100¹

If a man praises you as long as you can see him, but speaks maliciously when apart, such a comrade is in truth no very good friend, whoever speaks with a smooth tongue but has different thoughts. May I have the sort of friend who knows his comrade and, like a brother, puts up with his disposition even when he is hard to bear. Please take these things to heart, my friend, and one day hereafter you will remember me.

¹ Editors regularly treat these verses as a single poem, but West may well be right to divide them into three (93-94, 95-96, 97-100), with a lacuna after 94. 97-100 reappear as 1164a-d.

ELEGIAC POETRY

101-112

μηδεῖς σ' ἀνθρώπων πείσῃ κακὸν ἄνδρα
φιλήσαι,

Κύρνε· τί δ' ἔστ' ὄφελος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὦν;
οὔτ' ἂν σ' ἐκ χαλεποῖο πόνου ῥύσαιτο καὶ ἄτης,
οὔτε κεν ἐσθλὸν ἔχων τοῦ μεταδοῦν ἐθέλοι.

105 δειλοὺς δ' εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτῃ χάρις ἐστίν·
ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἄλὸς πολιῆς·

οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπείρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμῶς,
οὔτε κακοὺς εὖ δρῶν εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις.

ἄπληστον γὰρ ἔχουσι κακοὶ νόον· ἦν δ' ἐν
ἀμάρτης,

110 τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἐκκέχυνται φιλότης·

οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπαυρίσκουσι παθόντες,
μνήμα δ' ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν καὶ χάριν ἐξοπίσω.

Anon. P. Colon. 64.13 (v. 105)

Teles (p. 42.7 Hense) ap. Stob. 4.33.31 (sine nom.), v. 109
(- νόον)

104 μεταδούναι θέλοι A¹, μέγαλον δοῦναι θέλει O, μέγα
δοῦν' ἐθέλει p: corr. Buttmann

113-14

μήποτε τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιείσθαι
ἐταῖρον,

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φεύγειν ὥστε κακὸν λιμένα.

115-16

115 πολλοί τοι πόσιος καὶ βρώσιός εἰσιν ἐταῖροι,
ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

THEOGNIS

101-112¹

Let no one persuade you, Cynus, to make a base man your friend. Of what use is a base man as a friend? He would not rescue you from hard toil or from ruin (delusion?) nor if he has any success would he be willing to give you a share of this. Doing a good turn to the base is an utterly useless act of kindness; it is the same as sowing the expanse of the white-capped sea. You cannot reap a tall crop by sowing the sea and you cannot get anything good in return by doing good to the base. For the base have an insatiable desire; if you make one mistake, the friendship shown by all former acts is wasted. But the noble enjoy to the highest degree the treatment they've received, they remember the good things, and they are grateful thereafter.

¹ Most editors treat 101-4 and 105-12 as separate poems.

113-14

Never make a base man your close comrade, but always avoid him like a bad harbour.

115-16¹

Many in truth are your comrades when there's food and drink, but not so many when the enterprise is serious.

¹ 116 is repeated in 644, with 643 similar to 115 in thought. 115 re-appears as Ps.-Phocylides 92 (with γάρ for τοι).

ELEGIAC POETRY

117-18

κιβδήλου δ' ἀνδρὸς γνῶναι χαλεπώτερον οὐδέν,
Κύρν', οὐδ' εὐλαβίης ἐστὶ περὶ πλέονος.

119-28

120 χρυσοῦ κιβδήλοιο καὶ ἀργύρου ἀνσχετὸς ἄτη,
Κύρνε, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν ῥάδιον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ·
εἰ δὲ φίλου νόος ἀνδρὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι λελήθη
ψυδρὸς ἐών, δόλιον δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ ἔχῃ,
τοῦτο θεὸς κιβδηλότατον ποίησε βροτοῖσιν,
καὶ γνῶναι πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.
125 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὔτε γυναικός,
πρὶν πειρηθείης ὥσπερ ὑποζυγίου,
οὐδέ κεν εἰκάσσαις †ὥσπερ ποτ' ἐς ὄριον
ἐλθών·†
πολλάκι γὰρ γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσ' ἰδέαι.

Clem. *Strom.* 6.18.6 (vv. 119-24)

Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 7.2.1237b15 (vv. 125-26)

119 ἄσχετος codd., corr. Camerarius 121 λελήθη A,
λελήθει O, λέληθε p et Clem. 122 ψυδρὸς A, ψυχρὸς
Clem., ψυδνὸς p ἔχῃ A, ἔχει p et Clem. 125 οὐ γὰρ ἂν
p et Arist. οὐδὲ γυναικός Arist. 126 πειραθείης o et
Arist. 127 ποτ' ἐσώριον O¹p, ποτε σώριον O a.c., ὤνιον
Camerarius, alii alia

129-30

130 μήτ' ἀρετὴν εὖχου, Πολυπαῖδη, ἔξοχος εἶναι
μήτ' ἄφενος· μοῦνον δ' ἀνδρὶ γένοιτο τύχη.

THEOGNIS

117-18

Nothing, Cynus, is more difficult to recognize than a counterfeit man and nothing is of more importance than being on one's guard against him.

119-28

The ruin that results from counterfeit gold and silver is endurable, Cynus, and it is easy for an expert to find out (that they are counterfeit). But if a friend's intent is false and lies undetected in his breast and if he has a treacherous heart, this is the most counterfeit thing that the god has made for mortals and to recognize it costs the greatest pain of all. For you cannot know a man's or a woman's intent, until you make trial of it like a beast of burden, nor can you form an estimate of it by coming as it were at the right time(?), since appearances often deceive one's judgement.

129-30

Don't pray for outstanding excellence or wealth, Polypaïdes; the only thing a man can have is luck.

ELEGIAC POETRY

131-32

οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἄμεινον
ἔπλεθ', ὅσοις ὁσίη, Κύρνε, μέμηλε δίκη.

Stob. 4.25.1 (vv. 131-32)

132 οἷς codd., ὅσοις Stob. ὁσίης . . . δίκης Stob.

133-42

οὐδεῖς, Κύρν', ἄτης καὶ κέρδεος αἷτιος αὐτός,
ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τούτων δώτορες ἀμφοτέρων.
135 οὐδέ τις ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεται ἐν φρεσὶν εἰδὼς
ἐς τέλος εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν γίνεται εἴτε κακόν.
πολλάκι γὰρ δοκέων θήσκειν κακὸν ἐσθλὸν
ἔθηκεν,

καί τε δοκῶν θήσκειν ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε κακόν.
οὐδέ τῳ ἀνθρώπων παραγίνεται ὅσσ' ἐθέλησιν.
140 ἴσχει γὰρ χαλεπῆς πείρατ' ἀμηχανίης.
ἄνθρωποι δὲ μάταια νομίζομεν, εἰδότες οὐδέν.
θεοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφέτερον πάντα τελοῦσι νόον.

Orion, *anth.* 5.12 (p. 48 Schneidewin), vv. 141-42

139 ἐθέλησιν p, θέλησιν AO

143-44

οὐδεῖς πῶ ξεῖνον, Πολυπαῖδη, ἐξαπατήσας
οὐδ' ἱκέτην θνητῶν ἀθανάτους ἔλαθεν.

145-48

145 βούλεο δ' εὐσεβέων ὀλίγοις σὺν χρήμασιν οἰκεῖν
ἢ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως χρήματα πασάμενος.

THEOGNIS

131-32

There is nothing among mankind better than a father and a mother, Cynus, who care about holy justice.

133-42

No one, Cynus, is responsible on his own for ruin or profit, but it is the gods who give both. Nor does anyone know in his heart whether his toil will turn out well or badly in the end. For often a man who thought he would fail succeeds and a man who thought he would succeed fails. No one has at hand everything he wants, since the constraints of grievous helplessness hold him back. We mortals have vain thoughts, not knowledge; it is the gods who bring everything to pass according to their own intent.

143-44

No mortal, Polypaïdes, has yet escaped the notice of the immortals, if he deceives a stranger or a suppliant.

145-48

Prefer to live righteously with a few possessions than to become rich by the unjust acquisition of

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετὴ ἔστιν,
πᾶς δέ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών.

Anon. in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 5.1.15 (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* xx.210.11), vv. 145-47

Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 5.1.15.1129b29, alii (v. 147)

146 πασσάμενος codd., corr. Brunck 147 ἀρετὴ ἐνι Arist.

149-50

χρήματα μὲν δαίμων καὶ παγκάκῳ ἀνδρὶ
δίδωσιν,
150 Κύρν' ἀρετῆς δ' ὀλίγοις ἀνδράσι μοῖρ'
ἔπεται.

151-52

ὑβριν, Κύρνε, θεὸς πρῶτον κακῷ ὥπασεν ἀνδρί,
οὗ μέλλει χώραν μηδεμίαν θέμεναι.

151 κακὸν ο

152 μηδεμίην A

153-54

τίκτει τοι κόρος ὑβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπνηται
ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾗ.

155-58

155 μήποτέ μοι πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἀνδρὶ χαλεφθεὶς
μηδ' ἀχρημοσύνην οὐλομένην πρόφερε·

THEOGNIS

money. For in justice there is the sum total of every excellence,¹ and every man who is just, Cynus, is noble.

¹ This proverbial statement is also attributed to Phocylides (fr. 10).

149-50

Fortune gives even an utterly wicked man riches, Cynus, but excellence is allotted to few as their companion.

151-52

It is insolence, Cynus, that the god gives first to a wicked man whose position he intends to make of no account.

153-54

In truth excess breeds insolence, whenever prosperity comes to a wicked man who is not sound of mind.¹

¹ For a slightly different version see Solon fr. 6.3-4.

155-58

Never, pray, out of anger at a man throw heart-rending poverty and accursed indigence in his face.

ELEGIAC POETRY

Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλως,
ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

Stob. 4.32.36 (vv. 155-58 + 179-80)

Basil. *ad adul.* 5 (p. 48 Boulenger, p. 25 Wilson), vv. 157-58

155 τοι codd., μοι Stob. χολωθεῖς codd., χαλεφθεῖς Stob.

156 οὐλομένην codd., Κύρνε κακὴν Stob.

157 ἄλλω codd., ἄλλως Stob., Basil.

159-60

μήποτε, Κύρν', ἀγορᾶσθαι ἔπος μέγα· οἶδε γὰρ
οὐδεῖς

160 ἀνθρώπων ὃ τι νῦν χημέρη ἀνδρὶ τελεί.

161-64

πολλοὶ τοι χρώνται δειλαῖς φρεσὶ, δαίμονι δ'
ἐσθλῶ,

οἷς τὸ κακὸν δοκέον γίνεται εἰς ἀγαθόν·
εἰσὶν δ' οἱ βουλῇ τ' ἀγαθῇ καὶ δαίμονι δειλῶ
μοχθίζουσι, τέλος δ' ἔργμασιν οὐχ ἔπεται.

163 δειλῶ A, κακῶ O, φαύλῳ p

165-66

165 οὐδεῖς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ὄλβιος οὔτε πενιχρὸς
οὔτε κακὸς νόσφιν δαίμονος οὔτ' ἀγαθός.

167-68

ἄλλ' ἄλλω κακὸν ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἀτρεκὲς ὄλβιος
οὐδεῖς
ἀνθρώπων ὅποσους ἥελιος καθορᾷ.

THEOGNIS

Be assured that Zeus inclines the scales now on this side, now on that; now to be wealthy, now to have nothing.

159-60

Never talk big, Cyrnus, for no one knows what a day or night will bring to pass for a man.

161-64

Many indeed have worthless brains, but enjoy good fortune, and for them apparent failure turns into success. And there are those who labour wisely, but suffer bad luck, and their efforts accomplish nothing.

165-66

No man is prosperous or poor or of low or high estate¹ without divine aid.

¹ The precise significance of *κακός* and *ἀγαθός* is uncertain here. My translation assumes that they are essentially the equivalent, in reverse order, of the two preceding adjectives.

167-68

One man is wretched this way, another that, and no one of all whom the sun looks down upon is truly fortunate.

ELEGIAC POETRY

169-70

170 ὃν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν, ὃ καὶ μωμεύμενος αἰνέει·
ἀνδρὸς δὲ σπουδὴ γίνεται οὐδεμία.

171-72

θεοῖς εὖχον †θεοῖσιν ἔπι κράτος· οὗτοι ἄτερ θεῶν
γίνεται ἀνθρώποις οὔτ' ἀγάθ' οὔτε κακά.

171 θεοῖσιν ἔπι A, οἷς ἐστὶ ο, θεοῖς vel τοῖς ἐστιν ἔπι Bergk,
θεοῖς οἷσιν ἔπι Schmidt

173-78

175 ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίῃ πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα,
καὶ γήρως πολιοῦ, Κύρνε, καὶ ἡπιάλου·
ἦν δὴ χρὴ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακήτεα πόντον
ρίπτειν καὶ πετρέων, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων.
καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίῃ δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν
οὔτ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεται.

Chrysipp. ap. Plut. *Sto. repugn.* 14.1039f, *de comm. not.* 22.1069d; Porph. in Hor. *epist.* 1.1.45; Clem. *Strom.* 4.23.3; Hermog. *Progymn.* 4 (p. 8.21 Rabe); Aphthon. *Progymn.* 4 (p. 8.12 Rabe); Stob. 4.32.38; schol. Thuc. 2.43.5; Elias, *proleg. philos.* 6 (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* xviii(1).15.16); alii (vv. 175-76) Plut. *quomodo aud. poet.* 4.22a; Artem. 1.32; Stob. 4.32.34; alii (vv. 177-78)

175 ἦν δὴ χρὴ codd., χρὴ πενίην (-αν) testes omnes
μεγακήτεα ο, Plut. 1069d, Hermog., Aphthon., Stob. SM, schol.
Thuc., Elias; βαθυκήτεα A, Plut. 1039f, Porph., Clem., Stob. A
176 πετρέων A, Clem., Stob. MA; πετρῶν alii 177 πᾶς γὰρ
testes

THEOGNIS

169-70

Even the fault-finder praises one whom the gods honour, whereas a man's zeal counts for nothing.

171-72

Pray to the gods; power rests with the gods. Nothing good or bad happens to men without the gods.

173-78¹

Poverty, Cynus, overwhelms a man of worth more than anything else, including hoary age and fever. To escape from it, Cynus, you should throw yourself to the monsters of the sea or down from lofty cliffs. For in effect a man overwhelmed by poverty is powerless to say or accomplish anything, and his tongue is bound fast.

¹ Some editors combine 173-78 with 179-82, but they are better treated as three separate poems.

ELEGIAC POETRY

179-80

180
 χρή γὰρ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα
 θαλάσσης
 δίζησθαι χαλεπῆς, Κύρνε, λύσιν πενίης.

Stob. 4.32.36 (vv. 179-80 + 155-58)

179 χρή δ' αἰεὶ κατὰ Stob. 180 δίζεσθαι ο, Stob.

181-82

τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῶ βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ
 ἢ ζῶειν χαλεπῇ τειρόμενον πενίῃ.

181 τεθνάμεναι A, τεθνᾶναι p

183-92

185
190
 κριοὺς μὲν καὶ ὄνους διζήμεθα, Κύρνε, καὶ
 ἵππους
 εὐγενέας, καὶ τις βούλεται ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
 βήσεσθαι· γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει
 ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ, ἣν οἱ χρήματα πολλὰ διδῶ,
 οὐδὲ γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις
 πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ.
 χρήματα μὲν τιμῶσι καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἔγρημε
 καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· πλοῦτος ἔμειξε γένος.
 οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε γένος, Πολυπαῖδῃ, ἀστῶν
 μαυροῦσθαι· σὺν γὰρ μίσγεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖς.

Xenoph. ap. Stob. 4.29.53 (v. test. 6); Stob. 4.30.11a (vv. 183-90)

Stob. 4.22.99 (vv. 183-86)

THEOGNIS

179-80

One should search over land and the broad-backed sea alike, Cynus, to find a release from grievous poverty.

181-82

It is better, dear Cynus, for a poor man to be dead than to live oppressed by grievous poverty.

183-92

We seek out rams and asses and horses that are purebred, Cynus, and everyone wishes that they mount (females) of good stock; but a noble man does not mind marrying the base daughter of a base father if the latter gives him a lot of money, and a woman does not refuse to be the wife of a base man who is rich, but she wants a wealthy man instead of one who is noble. It is money people honour; one who is noble marries the daughter of one who is base and one who is base marries the daughter of one who is noble.¹ Wealth has mixed up blood. And so, Polypaides, do not be surprised that the townsmen's stock is becoming enfeebled, since what is noble is mixing with what is base.

¹ West suggests that something has been lost after 188, since the transition to 189 is rather harsh.

184 ἀγαθοῦ Stob. 29 et 30 185 κτήσεσθαι Stob. 30
(-ασθαι 29) 186 ἦν τις Stob. 29, ἄν τις 30 φέρη Stob. 22
189 γὰρ Stob. bis

ELEGIAC POETRY

193-96

195 αὐτός τοι ταύτην εἰδὼς κακόπατριν ἐοῦσαν
 εἰς οἴκους ἄγεται χρήμασι πειθόμενος,
 εὖδοξος κακόδοξον, ἐπεὶ κρατερή μιν ἀνάγκη
 ἐντύει, ἥ τ' ἀνδρὸς τλήμονα θῆκε νόον.

193 αὐτός τοι ταύτην excerptoris supplementum censet West
 ἀστὸς Heimsoeth τοιαύτην O 196 ἐντύνει codd., corr.
 Brunck

197-208

200 χρῆμα δ' ὃ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκη ἀνδρὶ
 γένηται
 καὶ καθαρῶς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει·
 εἰ δ' ἀδίκως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ φιλοκερδέει θυμῷ
 κτήσεται, εἴθ' ὄρκῳ παρ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλών,
 αὐτίκα μὲν τι φέρειν κέρδος δοκεῖ, ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν
 αὔθις ἔγεντο κακόν, θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος.
 ἀλλὰ τάδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπατᾷ νόον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'
 αὐτοῦ
 205 τίνονται μάκαρες πρήγματος ἀμπλακίας,
 ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτεισε κακὸν χρέος, οὐδὲ
 φίλοισιν
 ἄτην ἐξοπίσω παισὶν ἐπεκρέμασεν·
 ἄλλον δ' οὐ κατέμαρψε δίκη· θάνατος γὰρ
 ἀναιδῆς
 πρόσθεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις ἔζετο κῆρα φέρων.

203 ἐπ' Vat. Urb. gr. 160, ἔτ' αὐτοῦς Ao
 206 ὑπεκρέμασεν O, unde ὑπερ- Boeckh

THEOGNIS

193-96

With full knowledge that she is of base stock he brings her home as wife, persuaded by wealth, although he has a fine reputation and she a poor one; powerful necessity, which makes a man's spirit capable of endurance, urges him on.

197-208

Whatever possession comes to a man from Zeus and is obtained with justice and without stain, is forever lasting. But if a man acquires it unjustly, inopportunistly, and with a greedy heart or seizes it wrongly by a false oath, for the moment he thinks he's winning profit, but in the end it turns out badly and the will of the gods prevails. The minds of men, however, are misled, since the blessed gods do not punish sin at the time of the very act, but one man pays his evil debt himself and doesn't cause doom to hang over his dear progeny later, while another is not overtaken by justice; before that ruthless death settles on his eyelids, bringing doom.¹

¹ For the same general thought cf. portions of Solon fr. 13.9-32.

ELEGIAC POETRY

209-210

210 οὐδείς τοι φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐστὶν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότερον.

211-12

οἶνόν τοι πίνειν πουλὺν κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν
πίνη ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακὸς ἀλλ' ἀγαθός.

213-18

θυμέ, φίλους κατὰ πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον
ἦθος,
ὀργὴν συμμίσγων ἦντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.
215 πουλύπου ὀργὴν ἴσχε πολυπλόκου, ὃς ποτὶ
πέτρῃ,
τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη.
νῦν μὲν τῇδ' ἐφέπου, τότε δ' ἄλλοῖος χροῖα γίνου.
κρέσσων τοι σοφίῃ γίνεται ἀτροπίης.

Plut. *de amic. mult.* 9.96f, *aet. phys.* 19.916c, *sollert. anim.* 27.978e; Ath. 7.317a; alii (vv. 215-16)

213 Κύρνε pro θυμέ ο 215 πο(υ)λύποδος νόον ἴσχε
πολυχροῦ Plut. ter 216 τῇπερ ὁμ. Plut. 96 (v.l.), 978
-ήσει AOXDUr, Plut. 916 et v.l. 96, 978

219-20

220 μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄσχαλλε ταρασσομένων πολιητέων,
Κύρνε, μέσσην δ' ἔρχευ τὴν ὁδὸν ὥσπερ ἐγώ.

THEOGNIS

209-210¹

In truth an exile has no friend or loyal comrade, and this is more painful than the exile.

¹ Identical to 332ab, except for the first two words and the last.

211-12¹

Drinking wine in large quantities is indeed a bane, but if one drinks it wisely, wine is not a bane but a blessing.

¹ Repeated with slight variations in 509-510.

213-18¹

My heart, keep turning a versatile disposition in accordance with all your friends, mingling with it the mood which each one has. Adopt the mood of the cunning octopus² which seems to resemble the rock to which it clings. Now follow along in this direction, now take on a different complexion. Cleverness is in truth superior to inflexibility.

¹ 213-14 and 217-18 reappear, with variations, as 1071-74. Some, including West, treat 213-14 as a separate poem.

² There is much information on the octopus in Athenaeus 7.316a-318f. The adjective translated as "cunning" may also refer literally to the many convolutions of the octopus, and the noun "complexion" in the next sentence reflects the imagery of the octopus.

219-20

Because (when?) the citizens are in turmoil do not be too distressed, Cynus, but go along the middle of the road, as I do.

ELEGIAC POETRY

221-26

- οἷς τοι δοκέει τὸν πλησίον ἴδμεναι οὐδέν,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μῶνος ποικίλα δῆνέ' ἔχειν,
 κείνός γ' ἄφρων ἐστί, νόου βεβλαμμένος ἐσθλοῦ.
 ἴσως γὰρ πάντες ποικίλ' ἐπιστάμεθα.
 225 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει κακοκερδείησιν ἔπεσθαι,
 τῷ δὲ δολοπλοκίαι μᾶλλον ἄπιστοι ἄδον.

Stob. 3.4.26 (vv. 221-26)

221 ἔμμεναι Stob.

226 μᾶλλον ἔτ' εἰσὶ φίλαι Stob.

227-32

- πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν·
 οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἡμῶν πλείστον ἔχουσι βίον,
 διπλάσιον σπεύδουσι. τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας;
 230 χρήματά τοι θνητοῖς γίνεται ἀφροσύνη,
 ἅττη δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναφαίνεται, ἣν ὁπότε Ζεὺς
 πέμψη τειρομένοις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

233-34

ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἐὼν κενεόφρονι δήμῳ,
 Κύρν', ὀλίγης τιμῆς ἔμμορεν ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

235-36

- 235 οὐδὲν ἐπιπρέπει ἡμῖν ἅτ' ἀνδράσι σωζομένοισιν,
 ἀλλ' ὥς πάγχυ πόλει, Κύρνε, ἀλωσομένη.

235 οὐδὲν ἐπιπρέπει A, corr. Bekker; οὐδέ τι πρέπει ο, οὐδὲν
 ἔτι πρέπει Ahrens (prob. West)

THEOGNIS

221-26

Anyone who thinks that his neighbour knows nothing, while he himself is the only one to make crafty plans, is a fool, his good sense impaired. For all of us alike have crafty thoughts, but while one man is unwilling to pursue base gains, another takes pleasure rather in deceitful guile.

227-32¹

Of wealth no limit is revealed to men, since those of us who now have the greatest livelihood are eager to double it. What could satisfy everyone? In truth possessions result in folly for mortals, and from folly there is revealed ruin, which now one, now another has, whenever Zeus sends it to wretched men.

¹ A version of Solon fr. 13.71-76.

233-34

Although a noble man is a citadel and a tower for the empty-headed people, Cynus, his share of honour is slight.

235-36

We cannot regard ourselves as men who are saved, Cynus, but as a city that will be utterly captured.¹

¹ Probably not in the literal sense, but as a city that will be 'taken over' by those who are, in Theognis' view, members of the lower class. It is also possible that the verb has its legal meaning, 'condemned.'

ELEGIAC POETRY

237-54

σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα
πόντον

240 πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν αἰρόμενος
ῥηϊδίως· θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση
ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν,
καί σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες
εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα
ἄσονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
βῆς πολυκωκύνους εἰς Ἀἴδαο δόμους,
245 οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολείς κλέος, ἀλλὰ
μελήσεις

ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα,
Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφόμενος ἡδ' ἀνὰ
νήσους

250 ἰχθυόεντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,
οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει
ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων·
πᾶσι δ' ὅσοισι μέμηλε καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῇ
ἔσση ὁμῶς, ὅφρ' ἂν γῆ τε καὶ ἡέλιος·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγῃς παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾷς.

238 κατὰ codd., corr. Bergk 251 πᾶσι διὸς οἷσι A,
πᾶσιν οἷσι O, πᾶσι γὰρ οἷσι p, corr. Lachmann

THEOGNIS

237-54¹

I have given you wings with which you will fly, soaring easily, over the boundless sea and all the land. You will be present at every dinner and feast, lying on the lips of many, and lovely youths accompanied by the clear sounds of pipes² will sing of you in orderly fashion with beautiful, clear voices. And whenever you go to Hades' house of wailing, down in the dark earth's depths, never even in death will you lose your fame, but you will be in men's thoughts, your name ever immortal, Cynus, as you roam throughout the land of Greece and among the islands, crossing over the fish-filled, undraining(?) sea, not riding on the backs of horses,³ but it is the splendid gifts of the violet-wreathed Muses that will escort you. For all who care about their gifts, even for future generations, you will be alike the subject of song, as long as earth and sun exist. And yet I do not meet with a slight⁴ respect from you, but you deceive me with your words, as if I were a small child.

¹ These verses seem to form a kind of epilogue to 19-26, although they need not have been composed for that purpose.

² The Greek word is a diminutive, apparently describing a pipe suitable for young voices.

³ The significance of this is disputed.

⁴ A few prefer to connect the negative with the adjective, "I meet with no slight respect," i.e., "with much respect," arguing that Cynus shows considerable respect, but it is not genuine, as the next verse indicates.

ELEGIAC POETRY

255-56

255 κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιοτάτον· λῶστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν·
 πρᾶγμα δὲ τερπνότατον, τοῦ τις ἐρᾷ, τὸ τυχεῖν.

P. Oxy. xxiii.2380 (saec. II/III p. Chr.); Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1.8.14.1099a27; Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1.1.1214a5; Stob. 4.39.8 (vv. 255-56)

257-60

ἵππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον
 ἄνδρα φέρω, καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.
 πολλάκι δὴ ᾿μέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν
 260 φεύγειν ὥσαμένη τὸν κακὸν ἡνίοχον.

259 δὴ ᾿μ- X p.c., D; δ' ἡμ- AOUII 260 ὥσαμένη p,
 ἀπωσαμένη AO (φεύγεν Bergk)

261-66

οὐ μοι πίνεται οἶνος, ἐπεὶ παρὰ παιδὶ τερεῖνῃ
 ἄλλος ἀνὴρ κατέχει πολλὸν ἐμοῦ κακίων.
 ψυχρόν μοι παρὰ τῇδε φίλοι πίνουνσι τοκῆς,
 ὥς θαμά θ' ὑδρεύει καί με γοῶσα φέρει,
 265 ἔνθα μέσσην περὶ παῖδα λαβὼν ἀγκῶν' ἐφίλησα
 δειρήν, ἥ δὲ τέρεν φθέγγετ' ἀπὸ στόματος.

262 κάλ' ἔχει West 263 που pro μοι West
 264 ὥσθ' ἅμα θ' malunt multi 265 βαλὼν Hermann

¹ Meaning and text are much disputed, and West may well be right to separate 261-62 from 263-66. Some critics treat the verses as a riddle.

THEOGNIS

255-56¹

Fairest is that which is most just, best is health, and the most pleasurable thing is to obtain what one loves.²

¹ Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.*) cites these lines as "the Delian inscription" (τὸ Δηλιακὸν ἐπίγραμμα) and (*Eth. Eud.*) as inscribed in the shrine of Leto on Delos. The text printed is that of the Theognidean MSS, the other sources giving a variety of readings, especially in the first half of the pentameter. The papyrus contains vv. 254-78, in a fragmentary state. ² Not necessarily in an erotic sense.

257-60

I am a fine, prize-winning horse, but I carry a man who is utterly base, and this causes me the greatest pain. Often I was on the point of breaking the bit, throwing my bad rider, and running off.¹

¹ Various explanations of the imagery have been offered. The likeliest, in my opinion, is that the horse represents a woman of the upper class married off to a man of the lower class, and resenting the union.

261-66

No wine is being drunk for me (?), since at the tender maiden's side another man, much inferior to me, has the upper hand. At her place (?) her dear parents drink cool water in my opinion (?), since she often draws and carries it, crying for me; there I grasped her round the waist in my arms and kissed her neck, while from her lips came tender words.¹

ELEGIAC POETRY

267-70

γνωτή τοι Πενίη γε καὶ ἀλλοτρίη περ ἐούσα·
οὔτε γὰρ εἰς ἀγορὴν ἔρχεται οὔτε δίκας·
πάντη γὰρ τοῦλασσον ἔχει, πάντη δ' ἐπίμυκτος,
270 πάντη δ' ἐχθρὴ ὁμῶς γίνεται, ἔνθα περ ἦ.

267 τε A, corr. Friedemann
ἐπίμυκτος ο (-ον O) et pap. (]πιμι[)
pap.

269 ἐπίμυκτος A,
270 ε]νθ[α] παρ[ηι
pap.

271-78

ἴσως τοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεοὶ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις
γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ νεότητ' ἔδοσαν,
τῶν πάντων δὲ κάκιστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις θανάτου τε
καὶ πασέων νόσων ἐστὶ πονηρότατον,
275 παῖδας ἐπεὶ θρέψαιο καὶ ἄρμενα πάντα
παράσχοις,
χρήματα δ' ἐγκαταθῆς πόλλ' ἀνιηρὰ παθών,
τὸν πατέρ' ἐχθαίρουσι, καταρῶνται δ' ἀπολέσθαι,
καὶ στυγέουσ' ὥσπερ πτωχὸν ἐσερχόμενον.

274 πονηρότερον Hartung

278 ἐπερχ-ο et pap. (]περ[)

279-82

εἰκὸς τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα κακῶς τὰ δίκαια νομίζειν,
280 μηδεμίαν κατόπισθ' ἀζόμενον νέμεσιν·
δειλῶ γάρ τ' ἀπάλαμνα βροτῶ πάρα πόλλ'
ἀνελέσθαι
παρ ποδός, ἡγείσθαι θ' ὥς καλὰ πάντα τιθεῖ.

280 κατόπιν ο

THEOGNIS

267-70

Poverty is indeed well known, even though she belongs to someone else. She does not visit the marketplace or the courts, since everywhere her status is inferior, everywhere she is scorned, and everywhere she is equally hated, regardless of where she is.

271-78

The gods have given mortal men an equal share of other things, accursed old age and youth, but there is something that is the worst and most grievous of all things in human life, including death and every kind of sickness, (namely, that) whenever you have raised sons, provided everything that is fitting, and stored up wealth (for them) after much bitter suffering, they hate their father, pray for his death, and loathe him as if he were a beggar at the door.¹

¹ The punctuation of this segment is unclear and many treat *θανάτου—πονηρότατον* as a parenthesis.

279-82

It is natural that the base man have a base view of justice and have no regard for resentment to follow, since it is possible for a base man to have ready access to many criminal acts and to consider that everything he does is fine.

ELEGIAC POETRY

283-86

285 ἀστῶν μηδενὶ πιστὸς ἔων πόδα τῶνδε πρόβαινε,
μήθ' ὄρκῳ πίσυνος μήτε φιλημοσύνη,
μηδ' εἰ Ζῆν' ἐθέλη παρέχειν βασιλῆα μέγιστον
ἔγγυον ἀθανάτων πιστὰ τιθεῖν ἐθέλων

283 τόνδε codd., corr. Hermann
excerptoris supplementum censet West

286 πιστὰ—ἐθέλων

287-92

290 ἐν γάρ τοι πόλει ὧδε κακοψόγῳ ἀνδάνει οὐδέν·
†ωσδετοσσωσαι† πολλοὶ ἀνολβότεροι.
νῦν δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κακὰ γίνεται ἐσθλὰ
κακοῖσιν
ἀνδρῶν· γαίονται δ' ἐκτραπέλοισι νόμοις·
αἰδῶς μὲν γὰρ ὄλωλεν, ἀναιδείῃ δὲ καὶ ὕβρις
νικήσασα δίκην γῆν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔχει.

288 ita A, ὥς δὲ τὸ σῶσαι οἱ ο, δις δὲ τόσως αἰεὶ Bergk, alii
alia 290 ἀνδρῶν γαίονται A, ἀνδρῶν γίνεται ο, corr. West:
ἀνδρῶν· ἡγέονται Bekker (fort. recte)

293-94

οὐδὲ λέων αἰεὶ κρέα δαίνυται, ἀλλὰ μιν ἔμπησ'
καὶ κρατερόν περ ἐόνθ' αἰρεῖ ἀμηχανίῃ.

294 ἐόντ' αἶρει A

295-98

295 κωτίλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ σιγᾶν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,
φθεγγόμενος δ' ἀδῆς οἴσι παρῇ πέλεται,

THEOGNIS

283-86

Do not take a step forward with trust in any of these townsmen and do not rely on their oaths and claims of friendship, not even if they want to offer Zeus, the greatest king of the immortals, as guarantor in their desire to establish trust.

287-92¹

In a city so given to malicious faultfinding nothing pleases (the citizens); . . . many are less well off. Now what the noble consider vices are deemed virtues by the base, and they rejoice in perverted ways (laws?). For respect is lost and shameless outrage, having overcome justice, prevails in all the land.

¹ Some join 287-88 (or 287-92) to 283-86. West suggests that something like 367-68 preceded 287-92.

293-94

Not even a lion always feasts on meat, but (sometimes), for all his strength, he is in the grip of helplessness.

295-98

For a chatterbox the hardest burden to bear is silence, but when he talks he is a bore to those present

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἐχθαίρουσι δὲ πάντες· ἀναγκαίη δ' ἐπίμειξις
ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου συμποσίῳ τελέθει.

296 ἀδαῆς codd., corr. Ahrens μέλεται codd., corr.
Camerarius 297 πάντας A

299-300

οὐδείς λῆ φίλος εἶναι ἐπὴν κακὸν ἀνδρὶ γένηται,
οὐδ' ᾧ κ' ἐκ γαστροῦ, Κύρνε, μιᾶς γεγόνῃ.

299 οὐδείς δη A, corr. Sauppe: οὐδὲ θέλει O, οὐδ' ἐθέλει p
300 ωκ' A, expl. Bekker: ἦν ο γεγόνει ο

301-302

πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς ἴσθι καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ
ἀπηνῆς
λάτρισι καὶ δμωσὶν γείτοσί τ' ἀγχιθύροις.

303-304

οὐ χρὴ κιγκλίζειν ἀγαθὸν βίον, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζειν,
τὸν δὲ κακὸν κινεῖν ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὀρθὰ βάλῃς.

304 λάβῃς codd., corr. Stephanus

305-308

οἱ κακοὶ οὐ πάντως κακοὶ ἐκ γαστροῦ γεγόνασιν,
ἀλλ' ἄνδρεσσι κακοῖς συνθέμενοι φιλίην
ἔργα τε δείλ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἔπη δύσφημα καὶ
ὕβριν,
ἐλπόμενοι κείνους πάντα λέγειν ἔτυμα.

305 τοι A πάντες A

THEOGNIS

and everyone dislikes him; not from choice does one join such a man at a symposium.

299-300

No one wants to be a friend whenever hard times befall a man, Cynus, even though he be born of the same womb.

301-302

Be bitter and sweet, kind and harsh, to hired servants and slaves¹ and the neighbours next door.

¹ Or perhaps a contrast is intended between female and male slaves.

303-304

You should leave the good life undisturbed and not jerk it about, but you should stir up the bad life until you set it straight.

305-308

The base are not always born base from the womb, but by establishing friendship with base men they learn bad actions, foul speech, and outrageous behaviour, in the belief that everything those friends say is true.

ELEGIAC POETRY

309-12

310 ἐν μὲν συσσίτοισιν ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος εἶναι,
 πάντα δέ μιν λήθειν ὥς ἀπεόντα δοκοῖ,
 εἰς δὲ φέροι τὰ γελοῖα· θύρηφι δὲ καρτερὸς εἴη,
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν ἥντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.

309 εἶναι A, ἴσθι ο
 Geel

310 δοκεῖ A, δόκεῖ O, δόκει p, corr.

313-14

ἐν μὲν μαινομένοις μάλα μαίνομαι, ἐν δὲ δικαίοις
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ δικαιοτάτος.

315-18

315 πολλοί τοι πλουτοῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·
 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τούτοις οὐ διαμευψόμεθα
 τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Stob. 3.1.8 (Θεόγνιδος), vv. 315-18

319-22

320 Κύρν', ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ γνώμην ἔχει ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
 τολμᾷ δ' ἐν τε κακοῖς κείμενος ἐν τ' ἀγαθοῖς·
 εἰ δὲ θεὸς κακῶ ἀνδρὶ βίον καὶ πλοῦτον ὀπάσσει,
 ἀφραίνων κακίην οὐ δύναται κατέχειν.

Stob. 3.37.3 (vv. 319-22)

320 ἐν τ' ἀγαθοῖς . . . ἐν τε κακοῖς p, Stob. 321 ὀπάσσει ο,
 ὀπάσει Stob. A

THEOGNIS

309-12

Among one's fellow diners let a man have his wits about him, let everything seem to escape his notice as if he were not there, and let him contribute jokes, but when he's outside let him be firm,¹ recognizing the temperament which each one has.

¹ The precise significance of *καρτερός* is uncertain. I take the general meaning to be that when a man is in the company of others he should pretend to share their views, but when he leaves he should show the strength of his convictions. Editors disagree on punctuation and on some readings. I have followed West.

313-14

Among those who rave I rave with the best,¹ but among the level-headed I am the most level-headed of all.

¹ An adaptation of a proverb attested elsewhere. See R. Renehan, *CR* n.s. 13 (1963) 131-32.

315-18¹

Many base men are rich and many noble men poor; but we'll not take their wealth in exchange for virtue, since this is always secure, while wealth belongs now to one man, now to another.

¹ A version of Solon fr. 15. See *ad loc.* for the slight variations.

319-22

Cyrnus, a noble man has a judgement that is ever secure and he endures whether his situation is bad or good, but if the god gives a base man livelihood and wealth, because of his foolishness he cannot restrain his baseness.

ELEGIAC POETRY

323-28

μήποτ' ἐπὶ σμικρᾷ προφάσει φίλον ἄνδρ'
ἀπολέσσαι

πειθόμενος χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διαβολίῃ.

325 εἴ τις ἀμαρτωλῆσι φίλων ἐπὶ παντὶ χολοῖτο,
οὔποτ' ἂν ἀλλήλοις ἄρθμοι οὐδὲ φίλοι
εἶεν· ἀμαρτωλαὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔπονται
θνητοῖς, Κύρνε· θεοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι φέρειν.

323 ἀπολέσεως ο

324 διαιβολίῃ Bergk

325 ἀμαρτωλοῖσι ο

χολῶτο codd., corr. Kalinka

329-30

330 καὶ βραδὺς εὖβουλος εἶλεν ταχὺν ἄνδρα διώκων,
Κύρνε, σὺν εὐθείῃ θεῶν δίκη ἀθανάτων.

331-32

ἥσυχος ὥσπερ ἐγὼ μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔρχεο ποσσίν,
μηδετέροισι διδούς, Κύρνε, τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων.

Stob. 3.15.6 (vv. 331-32)

332 δίδου Stob.

332ab

οὐκ ἔστιν φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἔστιν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.

Clem. Strom. 6.8.1 (v. 332a)

332ab om. ο

THEOGNIS

323-28

Cyrnus, never lose a friend on trivial grounds by malicious slander. If one were to be angry at the faults of friends on every occasion, there would never be mutual harmony or friendship; for in the world of humans faults accompany mortals,¹ Cyrnus, but the gods refuse to tolerate them.

¹ I.e., it is natural for mortals to make mistakes. Some connect *θνητοῖς* with *ἀνθρώποισι* and treat the verb as absolute, "among mortal men faults are inherent." The end result is the same.

329-30

With good planning, Cyrnus, even a slow man overtakes the swift,¹ aided by the direct justice of the immortal gods.

¹ Modeled on *Od.* 8.329-30.

331-32

Walk quietly along the middle of the road as I do, Cyrnus, giving to neither side what belongs to the other.

332ab¹

An exile has no friend or loyal comrade, and this is the most painful part of exile.

¹ See 209-10 for a slightly different version.

ELEGIAC POETRY

333-34

μήποτε φεύγοντ' ἄνδρα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, Κύρνε,
φιλήσης·
οὐδὲ γὰρ οἵκαδε βὰς γίνεται αὐτὸς ἔτι.

334 αὐτὸς dub. Bergk

335-36

335 μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ' ἄριστα· καὶ
οὕτως,
Κύρν', ἔξεις ἀρετήν, ἣν τε λαβεῖν χαλεπόν.

337-40

Ζεὺς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοίη τίσιν, οἳ με
φιλεῦσιν,
τῶν τ' ἐχθρῶν μεῖζον, Κύρνε, δυνησόμενον.
χοῦτως ἂν δοκέοιμι μετ' ἀνθρώπων θεὸς εἶναι,
340 εἴ μ' ἀποτεισάμενον μοῖρα κίχῃ θανάτου.

340 ἀποτισ- codd., corr. Hiller

341-50

ἀλλά, Ζεῦ, τέλεσόν μοι, Ὀλύμπιε, καίριον εὐχὴν·
δὸς δέ μοι ἀντὶ κακῶν καί τι παθεῖν ἀγαθόν·
τεθναίην δ', εἰ μή τι κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων
εὐροίμην. δοίην δ' ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας·
345 αἶσα γὰρ οὕτως ἐστί, τίσις δ' οὐ φαίνεται ἡμῖν
ἀνδρῶν οἳ τὰμὰ χρήματ' ἔχουσι βίην
συλήσαντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην
χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ, πάντ' ἀποσεισάμενος.

THEOGNIS

333-34

Never be the friend of an exile with a view to the future, Cyrnus; for not even when he comes home is he any longer the man he was.

335-36

Don't show too much zeal;¹ the middle course is the best of all.² This way, Cyrnus, you will have merit and that's hard to come by.

¹ Cf. 401. ² Cf. Phoc. fr. 12.

337-40

May Zeus grant that I requite the friends who love me and that I requite my enemies by having greater power in the future. This way I'd seem to be a god among men, if my allotted death overtakes me with requital paid.

341-50

Come, Olympian Zeus, fulfil my timely prayer; grant that I experience something good to be set against my ills, or may I die if I do not find some relief from the anxieties that plague me. May I give pain in return for pain; for that is my due. But there is no retribution in sight for me against the men who have my possessions which they robbed from me by force. I am like the dog that crossed the mountain stream in winter's flood and shook everything off.¹

ELEGIAC POETRY

350 τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἶμα πιεῖν· ἐπὶ τ' ἐσθλὸς ὄροιτο
δαίμων ὃς κατ' ἐμὸν νοῦν τελέσειε τάδε.

347 δ' ἐκνέων Cerri

348 ἀποτεισόμενος Murray

351-54

ᾧ δειλὴ Πενίη, τί μένεις προλιπούσα παρ' ἄλλον
ἄνδρ' ἰέναι; μὴ δὴ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φίλει,
ἀλλ' ἴθι καὶ δόμον ἄλλον ἐποίχεο, μηδὲ μεθ'
ἡμέων
αἰεὶ δυστήνου τοῦδε βίου μέτεχε.

352 μὴ δὴ μ' Bekker, μ' ἦν δὴν A, τί δὴ μ' O, τί δὲ δὴ μ' p
φιλεῖς ο

355-60

355 τόλμα, Κύρνε, κακοῖσιν, ἐπεὶ κάσθλοῖσιν
ἔχαιρες,
εὖτέ σε καὶ τούτων μοῖρ' ἐπέβαλλεν ἔχειν·
ὥς δέ περ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔλαβες κακόν, ὥς δέ καὶ
αὖθις
ἐκδύναι πειρῶ θεοῖσιν ἐπευχόμενος.
μηδὲ λήην ἐπίφαινε· κακὸν δέ τε, Κύρν',
ἐπιφαίνειν·
360 παύρους κηδεμόνας σῆς κακότητος ἔχεις.

356 οὔτε A

THEOGNIS

May I drink their dark blood! And may an avenging spirit rise up² so as to bring this to pass in accordance with my intent.

¹ The meaning is obscure. West (*Studies* 153) assumes that "the poet had a brief unpleasant experience which made him rid himself of his property all at once," just as a dog shakes itself after crossing a stream, but neither this nor any of the emendations proposed is convincing. Perhaps there is an allusion to some fable.

² Or "may my guardian spirit watch over me."

351-54

O wretched Poverty,¹ why do you delay to leave me and go to another man? Don't be attached to me against my will, but go, visit another house, and don't always share this miserable life with me.

¹ Cf. 649.

355-60

Put up with bad times, Cynus, since you rejoiced in good times when fortune fell your way to have a share of them. And just as you got bad luck after good, so strive to emerge again by praying to the gods. Don't let it show too much; it's bad to let it show, Cynus. You have few sympathizers in your plight.

ELEGIAC POETRY

361-62

ἀνδρός τοι κραδίη μινύθει μέγα πῆμα παθόντος,
Κύρν'· ἀποτεινυμένου δ' αὔξεται ἐξοπίσω.

362 -τινυ- ADI, -τιννυ- OXD¹, corr. Hiller

363-64

εὖ κώτιλλε τὸν ἐχθρόν· ὅταν δ' ὑποχείριος ἔλθῃ,
τείσαί μιν πρόφασιν μηδεμίαν θέμενος.

364 τῖσαί codd., corr. Hiller νιν codd., corr. Sylburg

365-66

365 ἴσχε νόω, γλώσση δὲ τὸ μείλιχον αἰὲν ἐπέστω·
δειλῶν τοι τελέθει καρδίη ὀξυτέρῃ.

365 νόον ο γλώσσης Α ἐπέσθω ο

367-70

οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον ἀστῶν ὄντιν' ἔχουσιν·
οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς·
μωμεῦνται δέ με πολλοί, ὁμῶς κακοὶ ἢ δὲ καὶ
ἐσθλοί·

370 μιμείσθαι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀσόφων δύναται.

371-72

μή μ' ἀέκοντα βίῃ κεντῶν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἔλαυνε
εἰς φιλότητα λίην, Κύρνε, προσελκόμενος.

THEOGNIS

361-62

When a man has suffered a great disaster, Cynus, his heart¹ diminishes, but afterwards, when he gets revenge, it increases.

¹ Here almost in the sense of 'confidence' or 'self-assurance.'

363-64

Flatter your enemy well, but whenever you get the upper hand, pay him back, and don't give any pretext.

365-66

Hold back on your thoughts, but let there always be sweetness on your tongue; a heart that is too quick to show emotions is assuredly a mark of the base.¹

¹ Cf. 1030.

367-70¹

I can't understand the attitude the townsmen have, since neither by good actions nor by bad do I please them. Many, base and noble alike, find fault with me, but none of the fools can match me.

¹ 367-68 are virtually identical to 1184ab. Cf. also 24.

371-72

Don't ply the goad and drive me under the yoke by force against my will, Cynus, drawing me too far into friendship.¹

¹ Perhaps to be understood in an erotic sense.

ELEGIAC POETRY

373-400

Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε· σὺ γὰρ πάντεσσιν
ἀνάσσεις

375 τιμὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην δύναμιν,
ἀνθρώπων δ' εὖ οἶσθα νόον καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου,
σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἔσθ' ὕπατον, βασιλεῦ·
πῶς δὴ σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμᾷ νόος ἄνδρας
ἄλιτροὺς

ἐν ταύτῃ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν,
ἣν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῇ νόος ἣν τε πρὸς
ὕβριν

380 ἀνθρώπων, ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθομένων;
οὐδέ τι κεκριμένον πρὸς δαίμονός ἐστι
βροτοῖσιν,

οὐδ' ὁδὸς ἦντιν' ἰὼν ἀθανάτοισιν ἄδοι;

.....
ἔμψης δ' ὄλβον ἔχουσιν ἀπήμονα· τοὶ δ' ἀπὸ
δειλῶν

385 ἔργων ἰσχοντες θυμὸν ὅμως πενίην,
μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης, ἔλαβον τὰ δίκαια φιλεῦντες,
ἣ τ' ἀνδρῶν παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην
βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας, κρατερῆς ὑπ'
ἀνάγκης·

390 τολμᾷ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλων αἴσχρα πολλὰ φέρειν
χρημοσύνη εἴκων, ἥ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδάσκει,
ψεύδεά τ' ἐξαπάτας τ' οὐλομένας τ' ἔριδας,
ἄνδρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, κακὸν δέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἔοικεν·
ἥ γὰρ καὶ χαλεπὴν τίκτει ἀμηχανίην.

THEOGNIS

373-400¹

Dear Zeus, I'm surprised at you. You are lord over all, you alone have great power and prestige, you know well the mind and heart of every man, and your rule, king, is the highest of all. How then, son of Cronus, does your mind bear to hold sinners and the just man in the same esteem, whether the mind of men is disposed to prudent discretion or to wanton outrage, when they yield to unjust acts? Have no rules been set by divinity for mortals, is there no path along which one can go and please the immortals? [Some people rob and steal quite shamelessly,]² but for all that they have a prosperity free from harm, while others who refrain from wicked deeds nevertheless get poverty, the mother of helplessness, despite their love of justice, poverty which leads men's hearts astray to sinful action, impairing their wits under the force of necessity. Against his will a man brings himself to endure much that is shameful. yielding to need which teaches many bad ways, including lies, deceit, and deadly strife, even though he is unwilling. There is no ill comparable to need, for it gives birth to painful helplessness. In

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἐν πενίῃ δ' ὅ τε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ ὅ τε πολλὸν ἀμείνων
 φαίνεται, εὖτ' ἂν δὴ χρημοσύνη κατέχη·
 395 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖ νόος, οὐ τέ περ αἰεὶ
 ἰθεῖα γνώμη στήθεσιν ἐμπεφύη·
 τοῦ δ' αὖτ' οὔτε κακοῖς ἔπεται νόος οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν.
 τὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν τολμᾶν χρὴ τά τε καὶ τὰ φέρειν,
 αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ φίλους φεύγειν τ' ὀλεσήμενος ὅρκους

 400 ἐντράπελ', ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευάμενον.

379 *τερφθῇ* codd., corr. Camerarius post v. 382 *lacunam*
 susp. Hudson-Williams 386 *προάγει ο* 395 *ουτε A*
 (expl. Bekker), οὔτε ο 397 *τῷ δ' Bergk* ἔχεται *dub.*
 West post v. 399 *lacunam susp. Bergk* 400 *ἐντράπελ'*
A, ἔντρεπε δ' ο *αλευάμενον A, -άμενος ο,* *-όμενος I*
 (cf. 750)

401-406

μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
 ἄριστος
 ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων. πολλάκι δ' εἰς ἀρετὴν
 σπεύδει ἀνὴρ κέρδος διζήμενος, ὅντινα δαίμων
 πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακίην παράγει,
 405 καὶ οἱ ἔθηκε δοκεῖν, ἃ μὲν ἦ κακά, ταῦτ' ἀγάθ'
 εἶναι,
 εὐμαρέως, ἃ δ' ἂν ἦ χρήσιμα, ταῦτα κακά.

THEOGNIS

poverty, whenever need takes hold, both the base man and he who is much better are brought to light. For the latter's mind has its thoughts on justice and straight judgement is ever implanted in his breast, while the former's mind does not go along with either bad times or good.³ The noble man must bring himself to endure both, to respect his friends, and to shun false oaths that bring ruin to men. . . . carefully, avoiding the wrath of the immortals.

¹ Editors regularly divide into two or more segments (usually 373-92, 393-400 or 373-80, 381-82, 383-92, 393-400), but I agree with West (*Studies* 153-54) that it is best to assume one poem with two lacunae.

² West's suggestion for the contents of the lacuna.

³ It is difficult to obtain adequate sense from *ἔπεται*, 'follow' or 'accompany,' and there may well be textual corruption, but perhaps the meaning is that the base man cannot accommodate himself to either bad or good fortune.

401-406

Don't show too much zeal.¹ Proper measure is best in all men's actions.² Often a man is zealous of merit, seeking gain, a man whom divinity on purpose leads astray into great wickedness, and easily makes what is bad seem to him to be good, and what is worthwhile seem to be bad.

¹ Cf. 335.

² Cf. Critias fr. 7.2.

ELEGIAC POETRY

407-408

φίλτατος ὦν ἡμαρτες· ἐγὼ δέ τοι αἵτιος οὐδέν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γνώμης οὐκ ἀγαθῆς ἔτυχες.

407 σοι A

409-10

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν καταθήσῃ ἀμείνω
410 αἰδοῦς, ἥ τ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρν', ἔπεται.

409 παισὶ καταθήσει AO

411-12

οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων κακίων δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐταῖρος
ὧ γνώμη θ' ἔπεται, Κύρνε, καὶ ὧ δύναμις.

411 οὐδενὸς et δοκει A, μηδενὸς et δόκει o

413-14

πίνων δ' οὐχ οὕτως θωρήξομαι, οὐδέ με οἶνος
ἐξάγει, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν δεινὸν ἔπος περὶ σοῦ.

413 μέ γ' O, μετ' A, με p

415-18

οὐδέν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὐρεῖν
415 πιστὸν ἐταῖρον, ὅτῳ μή τις ἔνεστι δόλος·
ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατρίβομαι ὥστε
μολύβδῳ
χρυσός, ὑπερτερίης δ' ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος.

417 μολίβδῳ codd., corr. van Herwerden

418 νόος o

THEOGNIS

407-408

You who are (were?) dearest¹ have slipped up. I'm not responsible, but it's you yourself who fell short of good judgement.

¹ Without a context the force of the participle ὦν cannot be determined. See van Groningen's commentary for the various possibilities.

409-10¹

You will not leave your sons a better treasure than a sense of shame; it accompanies the noble, Cynus.

¹ Cf. the version in 1161-62.

411-12

A comrade who is endowed with judgement and power, Cynus, is held to be inferior to none.

413-14

I'll not so arm myself with wine, nor does wine lead me on, that I speak ill of you.

415-18¹

I can find none like myself in my search for a loyal comrade, one in whom there is no deceit. When I come to the touchstone I am rubbed like gold beside lead,² and the balance³ of superiority is in me.

¹ Cf. 1164e-h. ² The imagery is that of the touchstone used to distinguish pure gold from gold adulterated with lead. Cf. 450. ³ I have hesitantly followed Hudson-Williams who explains λόγος as an accounting term, but various other explanations have been given.

ELEGIAC POETRY

419-20

πολλά με καὶ συνιέντα παρέρχεται· ἄλλ' ὑπ'
ἀνάγκης

420 σιγῶ, γινώσκων ἡμετέρην δύναμιν.

421-24

πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπίκεινται
ἁρμόδιαι, καί σφιν πόλλ' ἀμέλητα μέλει
πολλάκι γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον
ἄμεινον,
ἐσθλὸν δ' ἐξελθὸν λώιον ἢ τὸ κακόν.

Stob. 3.36.1 (vv. 421-24)

421-22 θύρα οὐκ ἐπίκειται ἁρμοδίῃ Stob.
422 ἀλάλητα Stob. (λαλητὰ Bücheler) πέλει Stob. (prob.
West) 423 ἔνδοθεν ἦλθεν Stob. 424 ἐξελθὼν ΑΟ,
-εῖν Stob.

425-28

425 πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἡελίου,
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμνησάμενον.

Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. hypot.* 3.231; Stob. 4.52.30 (vv. 425-28)
Clem. *Strom.* 3.15.1; *Suda* i.374.27 Adler; *Paroem. Gr.* ii.148.4
(vv. 425-27)

Stob. 4.52.22 (ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλκιδάμαντος Μουσείου); *Cert. Hom.
et Hes.* 78-79; alii (vv. 425 et 427)

425 ἀρχὴν μὲν testes praeter Clem. 426 ἰδέειν Sext.,

THEOGNIS

419-20

I understand much that passes by, but I am forced into silence, knowing my own power.

421-24

Many men do not have on their tongue a door that closes with a well-adjusted fit, and they care about much that does not concern them. Often it is better for the bad to be stored away within and better for the good to come out than the bad.

425-28

It is best of all for mortals not to be born and not to look upon the rays of the piercing sun, but once born it is best to pass the gates of Hades as quickly as possible and to lie under a large heap of earth.¹

¹ This pessimistic outlook appears in many authors and became proverbial. Only some of the sources name Theognis as the author. Since a number cite only the hexameters and since the pentameters add nothing new, it can be safely assumed that the poet has formed an elegy out of two pre-existing hexameters.

ἐπιδεῖν *Paroem.*, ἐσορᾶν *Clem.* ὀξέας *Stob.* 427 ὅμως
Cert., paroem. 428 γῆν ἀπαμνησάμενον *Stob.*, γαῖαν
ἐφεισάμενον *Sext.*

ELEGIAC POETRY

429-38

430 φῦσαι καὶ θρέψαι ῥᾶον βροτὸν ἢ φρένας ἐσθλὰς
ἐνθέμεν· οὐδεὶς πω τοῦτό γ' ἐπεφράσατο,
ᾧ τις σώφρον' ἔθηκε τὸν ἄφρονα κακὸν κακοῦ
ἐσθλόν.

εἰ δ' Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτό γ' ἔδωκε θεός,
ἰᾶσθαι κακότητα καὶ ἀτηρὰς φρένας ἀνδρῶν,
πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον.
435 εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητόν τε καὶ ἐνθετον ἀνδρὶ νόημα,
οὔποτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἔγεντο κακός,
πειθόμενος μύθοισι σαόφροσιν· ἀλλὰ διδάσκων
οὔποτε ποιήσῃ τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

Anon. P. Oxy. ined. (vv. 432-33)

Dio Chrys. 1.8; Plut. *quaest. Plat.* 3.1000c (v. 432)

Plat. *Meno* 95e confuse; P. Berol. 12310 (ostr.), vv. 434-38

431 ὅτις A, ὅστις ο, corr. Bergk 432 οὐδ' O, testes

438 ποιήσεις ο, Plato, -ης ostr.

439-40

440 νήπιος, ὃς τὸν ἐμὸν μὲν ἔχει νόον ἐν φυλακῇσιν,
τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ †κίδιον† οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφεται.

440 τὸν ο κίδιον A, κῖδιον O, ἴδιον p, ἰδίῳ Jacobs

441-46

οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
ἐσθλὸς
τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακὸν κοῦκ ἐπίδηλος ὅμως,

THEOGNIS

429-38

It is easier to beget and rear a man than to put good sense in him. No one has yet devised a means whereby one has made the fool wise and a noble man out of one who is base. If the god had granted this power to the Asclepiads,¹ to cure men's baseness and muddled wits, they would be earning many a handsome fee. And if good sense could be made and placed in a man, there would never be a base son of a noble father, since he would heed words of wisdom. But you will never make the base man noble through teaching.

¹ Literally, 'descendants of Asclepius,' the god of healing, but here simply 'physicians.'

439-40

Foolish is he who stands guard over my intentions, but pays no heed to his own (?).¹

¹ For a defence of Jacobs' emendation see R. Renehan, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 23-24.

441-46¹

For no one is wholly prosperous in every respect. The noble man puts up with bad luck and for all that

ELEGIAC POETRY

δειλὸς δ' οὐτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπίσταται οὔτε κακοῖσιν
 θυμὸν ἔχων μίμνειν. ἀθανάτων δὲ δόσεις
 445 παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'· ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾶν
 χρὴ δῶρ' ἀθανάτων οἷα διδοῦσιν ἔχειν.

441 γὰρ A, τοι p, om. O 442 ἔχειν o ὁμῶς A
 443 οὔτε κακοῖσιν . . . οὐτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν o 444 δὲ O, τε A et p

447-52

εἴ μ' ἐθέλεις πλύνειν, κεφαλῆς ἀμείαντον ἀπ'
 ἄκρης
 αἰεὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ ῥεύσεται ἡμετέρης,
 εὐρήσεις δέ με πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ὥσπερ
 ἄπεφθον

450 χρυσόν, ἐρυθρὸν ἰδεῖν τριβόμενον βασάνῳ,
 τοῦ χροῖῆς καθύπερθε μέλας οὐχ ἄπτεται ἰὸς
 οὐδ' εὐρώς, αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν.

453-56

ὦνθρωπ', εἰ γνώμης ἔλαχες μέρος ὥσπερ ἀνοίης
 καὶ σώφρων οὕτως ὥσπερ ἄφρων ἐγένου,
 455 πολλοῖς ἂν ζηλωτὸς ἐφαίνεο τῶνδε πολιτῶν
 οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν οὐδενὸς ἄξιος εἶ.

457-60

οὔτοι σύμφορόν ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι·
 οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὥς ἄκατος,

THEOGNIS

makes no show of it, but the base man does not know how to control his emotions and stand firm in good or in bad times. The gifts of the gods come to mortals in all forms, but we must endure to possess their gifts, whatever it is they give.

¹ Cf. 1162a-f.

447-52

If you want to rinse me, the water will always flow unpolluted and clear from the top of my head, and you will find that in every activity I am like refined gold, yellow to the view when rubbed by the touchstone.¹ Above its surface no dark verdigris or mould takes hold, and it keeps its sheen ever pure.

¹ Cf. 417 and D. E. Eichholz, *Theophrastus, De Lapidibus* (Oxford 1965) 118: "The gold to be tested was rubbed on a touchstone already marked by a streak made by gold known to be pure. The new streak could thus be compared with the original one, and the relative impurity of the specimen under test detected by the different appearance of the streak left by it on the stone."

453-56

If you, sir, had been allotted as much judgement as stupidity and if you had been as sensible as you are foolish, you would seem to many of these citizens to be as deserving of admiration as you are now worth nothing.

457-60

A young wife is not suitable for a husband who is old. For she is like a boat that does not obey the rudder,

ELEGIAC POETRY

οὐδ' ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ
 460 πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

Ath. 13.560a; Stob. 4.22.110 (vv. 457-60)

Clem. *Strom.* 6.14.5 (vv. 457-58)

457 σύμφυρόν ἐστι Ath., Stob.: σύμφρον ἔνεστι fere codd.
 Theogn.: χρήσιμόν ἐστι Clem. νέα γυνή Clem.

459 ἄγκυραν Ath.

461-62

μήποτ' ἐπ' ἀπρήκτοισι νόον ἔχε μηδὲ μενοίνα
 χρήμασι τῶν ἄνυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία.

463-64

εὐμαρέως τοι χρήμα θεοὶ δόσαν οὔτε τι δειλὸν
 οὔτ' ἀγαθόν· χαλεπῶ δ' ἔργματι κῦδος ἔπι.

464 ἔπι A p.c., ἔπει a.c., ἔχει o

465-66

465 ἀμφ' ἀρετῇ τρίβου, καί τοι τὰ δίκαια φίλ' ἔστω,
 μηδέ σε νικάτω κέρδος ὃ τ' αἰσχροὺς ἔη.

467-96

μηδένα τῶνδ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν,
 μηδὲ θύραζε κέλευ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντ' ἰέναι·
 μηδ' εὖδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδη, ὄντιν' ἂν ἡμῶν
 470 θωρηχθέντ' οἶνω μαλθακὸς ὕπνος ἔλη,

THEOGNIS

nor do the anchors hold. She breaks her moorings
and often finds another harbour at night.¹

¹ For a close imitation of this passage cf. Theophilus fr. 6 K.-A.

461-62

Never set your mind and heart on things that can't
be done; there is nothing to be gained.¹

¹ Literally, "there is no accomplishment of them."

463-64

The gods do not give anything readily, either bad or
good; but in hard work there is glory.¹

¹ The meaning of the couplet is obscure and various emendations, none convincing, have been proposed in 463.

465-66

Wear yourself out in the pursuit of excellence, let
justice be dear to you, and don't let any gain that is
shameful win you over.

467-96

Don't hold back anyone of these so that he remain
with us against his will, don't tell anyone to depart
who does not want to, don't waken from his sleep,
Simonides, anyone of us who, fortified with wine,
has been overcome by gentle sleep, and don't tell

ELEGIAC POETRY

μηδὲ τὸν ἀγρυπνέοντα κέλευ' ἀέκοντα καθεύδειν·
 πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον χρήμ' ἀνιηρὸν ἔφυ.
 τῷ πίνειν δ' ἐθέλοντι παρασταδὸν οἰνοχοεῖτω·
 οὐ πάσας νύκτας γίνεται ἀβρὰ παθεῖν.
 475 αὐτὰρ ἐγώ, μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιηδέος οἴνου,
 ὕπνου λυσικάκου μνήσομαι οἴκαδ' ἰών.
 ἤκω δ' ὥς οἶνος χαριέστατος ἀνδρὶ πεπόσθαι·
 οὔτε τι γὰρ νήφων οὔτε λίην μεθύων·
 480 ὅς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κείνος
 τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερός οὐδὲ νόου,
 μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα, τὰ νήφοσι γίνεται αἰσχρά,
 αἰδεῖται δ' ἔρδων οὐδὲν ὅταν μεθύῃ,
 τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν σώφρων, τότε νήπιος. ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα
 γινώσκων μὴ πῖν' οἶνον ὑπερβολάδην,
 485 ἀλλ' ἢ πρὶν μεθύειν ὑπανίστασο—μή σε βιάσθω
 γαστήρ ὥστε κακὸν λάτριν ἐφημέριον—
 ἢ παρεὼν μὴ πῖνε. σὺ δ' "ἔγχεε" τοῦτο μάταιον
 κωτίλλεις αἰεὶ· τούνεκά τοι μεθύεις·
 ἢ μὲν γὰρ φέρεται φιλοτήσιος, ἢ δὲ πρόκειται,
 490 τὴν δὲ θεοῖς σπένδεις, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ χειρὸς ἔχεις,
 ἀρνείσθαι δ' οὐκ οἶδας. ἀνίκητος δέ τοι οὗτος,
 ὅς πολλὰς πίνων μὴ τι μάταιον ἐρεῖ.
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μυθεῖσθε παρὰ κρητῆρι μένοντες,
 ἀλλήλων ἔριδας δὴν ἀπερυκόμενοι,
 495 εἰς τὸ μέσον φωνεῦντες, ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασιν·
 χοῦτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι.

Pherecrates fr. 162.11-12 K.-A. (vv. 467 + 469 -Σιμωνίδη)

THEOGNIS

one who's wide awake to sleep against his will. All force is disagreeable.¹ And let (a slave) stand by and pour wine for him who wants to drink; it's not possible to have a good time every night. But I'll go home—I've had my limit of honey-sweet wine—and I'll take thought for sleep that brings release from ills. I've reached the stage where the consumption of wine is most pleasant for a man, since I am neither sober nor too drunk. Whoever exceeds his limit of drink is no longer in command of his tongue or his mind; he says wild things which are disgraceful in the eyes of the sober, and he's not ashamed of anything he does when he's drunk. Formerly he was sensible, but then he's a fool. Aware of this, don't drink wine to excess, but either rise before you're drunk—don't let your belly overpower you as if you were a wretched hired help for the day—or stay without drinking. But you say "fill it up!" This is always your idle chatter; that's why you get drunk. One cup is a toast to friendship, another is set before you, another you offer as a libation to the gods, another you have as a penalty,² and you don't know how to say no. That man is truly the champion who after drinking many cups will say nothing foolish. If you stay by the mixing bowl, make good conversation, long avoiding quarrels with one another and speaking openly³ to one and all alike. In this way a symposium turns out to be not half bad.

¹ This verse, with *πρᾶγμα* in place of *χρῆμα*, is cited by Arist. *Metaph.* 4.5.1015a28 and assigned to Euenus (fr. 8). Because of this and the presence of Simonides, who appears in 667-82 and

ELEGIAC POETRY

Ath. 10.428c (vv. 477-86)

Stob. 3.18.13 (vv. 479-86)

467 μηδένα μήτ' Pherecr. 469 μήθ' Pherecr.

476 λησικάκου I p.c. 477 ἤκω Ath., ἤξω codd.

478 οὔτε τι νήφων εἴμ' οὔτε λίαν μεθύων Ath., οὔτε τι γὰρ νήφω
οὔτε λίην μεθύω codd.: ut supra Friedemann 479 οὐκέτ'

ἐκεῖνος Ath., Stob. 492 πολλὸν A 494 εριδος A

495 συνάπατι A (συνάπαντι Kalinka)

497-98

ἄφρονος ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς καὶ σώφρονος οἶνος, ὅταν δὴ
πίνη ὑπὲρ μέτρον, κοῦφον ἔθηκε νόον.

Stob. 3.18.14-16 (vv. 497-508)

499-502

500

ἐν πυρὶ μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον ἱδριες ἄνδρες
γινώσκουσ', ἀνδρὸς δ' οἶνος ἔδειξε νόον,
καὶ μάλα περ πινυτοῦ, τὸν ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἤρατο
πίνων,
ὥστε καταισχῦναι καὶ πρὶν ἑόντα σοφόν.

500 (ἀνδρὸς—νόον) Ath. 2.37e

501-502 κακότητα δὲ πᾶσαν ἐλέγχει, ὥστε καταισχύνειν
καὶ τὸν ἑόντα σοφόν Stob.

503-508

505

οἰνοβαρέω κεφαλὴν, Ὀνομάκριτε, καί με βιάται
οἶνος, ἀτὰρ γνώμης οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ ταμίης
ἡμετέρης, τὸ δὲ δῶμα περιτρέχει. ἀλλ' ἄγ'
ἀναστὰς
πειρηθῶ, μή πως καὶ πόδας οἶνος ἔχει

THEOGNIS

1341-50, some editors, perhaps rightly, attribute all three poems to Euenus. The identity of Simonides is unknown. ² For a breach of conduct, but the meaning of the Greek is unclear.

³ Or "in common."

497-98

The mind of the foolish and sensible man alike is made light-headed, whenever he drinks beyond his limit.

499-502

Experts recognize gold and silver by fire, but wine reveals the mind of a man, even though he is very prudent, if he takes and drinks it beyond his limit, so that it puts to shame even one who¹ was formerly wise.

¹ Or "a mind which."

503-508

My head is heavy with wine, Onomacritus,¹ it overpowers me, I am no longer the manager of my judgement, and the room is going round and round. But, come, let me stand and find out whether the wine has hold of my feet as well as the mind

ELEGIAC POETRY

καὶ νόον ἐν στήθεσσι· δέδοικα δὲ μή τι μάταιον
ἔρξω θωρηχθεὶς καὶ μέγ' ὄνειδος ἔχω.

506 πειρήσω Stob. ἔχη p, Stob. SA

509-10

510 οἶνος πινόμενος πουλὺς κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν
πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.

511-22

512 ἦλθες δῆ, Κλεάριστε, βαθὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσας
ἐνθάδ' ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντ', ὦ τάλαν, οὐδὲν ἔχων·
515 τῶν δ' ὄντων τᾶριστα παρέξομεν· ἦν δέ τις ἔλθῃ
σεῦ φίλος ὢν, κατάκεισ' ὥς φιλότητος ἔχεις.
οὔτε τι τῶν ὄντων ἀποθήσομαι, οὔτε τι μείζω
σῆς ἔνεκα ξενίης ἄλλοθεν οἰσόμεθα.
513 νηὸς τοι πλευρῇσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ θήσομεν ἡμεῖς,
514 Κλεάρισθ', οἷ' ἔχομεν χοῖα διδοῦσι θεοί.
ἦν δέ τις εἰρωτᾷ τὸν ἐμὸν βίον, ὧδέ οἱ εἰπέῖν·
520 “ὥς εὖ μὲν χαλεπῶς, ὥς χαλεπῶς δὲ μάλ' εὖ,
ὥσθ' ἓνα μὲν ξεῖνον πατρώιον οὐκ ἀπολείπειν,
ξεῖνια δὲ πλεόνεσσ' οὐ δυνατὸς παρέχειν.”

517 μείζον ο
van Herwerden

513-14 transposuit West

519 τί σ'

THEOGNIS

within me. I'm afraid that in my fortified state I may do something foolish and bring great disgrace upon me.

¹ Identity unknown.

509-10

Wine drunk in large quantities is a bane, but if one drinks it wisely, it is not a bane but a blessing.¹

¹ A slightly different version occurs at 211-12. See West's edition for five additional sources and for variant readings, none of which alters the sense.

511-22

You've crossed the deep sea, Clearistus,¹ and come here penniless, poor fellow, to one who's penniless. But I'll provide the best of what there is, and if any friend of yours comes along, recline as suits your degree of friendship.² I'll not hold back anything of what I have nor bring in more from elsewhere to entertain you. I'll stow under the benches at the side of your ship, Clearistus, such as I have and the gods provide. And if anyone asks how I live, reply to him as follows: "Poorly by good standards, but quite well by poor standards,³ and so he doesn't fail one friend of the family, but is unable to offer entertainment to more."

¹ Identity unknown. ² For the significance of seating arrangements see Plato *Symp.* 222e. ³ More literally, "compared to one who lives well, he lives poorly, but compared to one who lives poorly, he lives quite well," ζῆν being understood from βίον with each adverb.

ELEGIAC POETRY

523-26

οὐ σὲ μάτην, ὦ Πλούτε, βροτοὶ τιμῶσι μάλιστα·
 ἥ γὰρ ῥηϊδίως τὴν κακότητα φέρεις.
 525 καὶ γάρ τοι πλούτον μὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἔοικεν,
 ἥ πενίη δὲ κακῶ σύμφορος ἀνδρὶ φέρειν.

Stob. 4.31.1 (vv. 523-24)

Stob. 4.31.3a (vv. 525-26)

523 θεοὶ Stob. 524 σὺ γὰρ Stob. 525 ἔδωκεν Stob.
 526 σοφῶ σύμφορον Stob.

527-28

ὦ μοι ἐγὼν ἥβης καὶ γήραος οὐλομένοιο,
 τοῦ μὲν ἐπερχομένου, τῆς δ' ἀπονισομένης.

Stob. 4.50.44; *Anth. Pal.* 9.118 (Βησαντίνου), vv. 527-28

528 ἀπονισ(σ)αμένης Stob. A, *Anth. Pal.*, ἀπανισταμένης p

529-30

οὐδέ τινα προύδωκα φίλον καὶ πιστὸν ἐταῖρον,
 530 οὐδ' ἐν ἐμῇ ψυχῇ δούλιον οὐδὲν ἔνι.

529 οὐδένα A, οὔτε τινα et 530 οὔτ' p

531-34

αἰεὶ μοι φίλον ἦτορ ἰαίνεται, ὅππότε' ἀκούσω
 αὐλῶν φθεγγομένων ἡμερόεσσαν ὄπα·
 χαίρω δ' εὖ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος ἀείδων,
 χαίρω δ' εὖφθογγον χερσὶ λύρην ὀχέων.

533 fin. ἀκούων codd. ex 531, corr. Pierson

THEOGNIS

523-26

Not to no purpose, Wealth, do mortals honour you
most of all, for you easily put up with baseness.¹
In fact, it is fitting for the noble to have wealth,
whereas poverty is appropriate for the base man to
endure.

¹ The poet seems to be saying sarcastically that Wealth is honoured because he does not mind conferring his benefits on the base. The second couplet then provides a correction. The majority of editors treat the couplets as separate.

527-28

Alas for youth and alas for cursed old age, the latter
because it comes on, the former because it leaves.

529-30

I have not betrayed any friend or loyal comrade, and
there's nothing of the slave¹ in my soul.

¹ The poet means that a slave would feel no obligation to be loyal.

531-34

My heart is always warmed whenever I hear the
pipes sounding a lovely voice. I delight in drinking
well and singing to the piper's accompaniment, and
I delight in holding in my hands the tuneful lyre.¹

¹ Some editors treat the couplets as separate.

ELEGIAC POETRY

535-38

535 οὔποτε δουλείη κεφαλὴ ἰθεῖα πέφυκεν,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σκολιή, καυχένα λοξὸν ἔχει.
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ σκίλλης ῥόδα φύεται οὔδ' ὑάκινθος,
 οὔτε ποτ' ἐκ δούλης τέκνον ἐλευθέριον.

Philo, *omnis probus liber* 155 (vi.43.11 C.-W.); Stob. 4.19.36
 (vv. 535-36)

535 εὐθεία ο, testes 537-38 οὔθ' . . . οὔδέ codd., οὔδ' . . . οὔτε
 Bekker

539-40

οὔτος ἀνὴρ, φίλε Κύρνε, πέδας χαλκεύεται αὐτῷ,
 540 εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί.

539 οὔτις ο

541-42

δειμαίνω μὴ τήνδε πόλιν, Πολυπαῖδην, ὕβρις
 ἥ περ Κενταύρους ὠμοφάγους ὀλέσῃ.

542 ὀλέσῃ ρ, ὄλεσε(ν) ΑΟ

543-46

χρή με παρὰ στάθμην καὶ γνώμονα τήνδε
 δικάσσαι,
 Κύρνε, δίκην, ἰσὸν τ' ἀμφοτέροισι δόμεν,
 545 μάντεσί τ' οἰωνοῖς τε καὶ αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσιν,
 ὄφρα μὴ ἀμπλακίης αἰσχρὸν ὄνειδος ἔχω.

THEOGNIS

535-38

Never is a slave's head by nature straight, but it is always crooked, and he holds his neck aslant. For from a squill grow neither roses nor hyacinth and the child of a slave mother is never free in spirit.

539-40

This man, dear Cynus, is forging fetters for himself, unless the gods deceive my judgement.¹

¹ West suggests that the couplet was preceded by 1101-1102.

541-42

I'm afraid, Polypaides, that lawlessness will destroy this city,¹ just as it did the Centaurs, eaters of raw flesh.²

¹ Cf. 1103-1104. ² Not a normal attribute of the Centaurs, but it is said of the Centaur Pholus in Apollodorus 2.5.4.

543-46

I must render this judgement by rule and square, Cynus, and give an equal share to both sides, with the aid of seers, auguries, and burning sacrifices, so that I not incur the shameful reproach of having erred.¹

¹ Some editors treat the couplets as separate (the second being incomplete) and some assume a lacuna after 544.

ELEGIAC POETRY

547-48

μηδένα πω κακότητι βιάζεο· τῷ δὲ δικαίῳ
τῆς εὐεργεσίης οὐδὲν ἀρειότερον.

549-54

550 ἄγγελος ἄφθογγος πόλεμον πολύδακρυν ἐγείρει,
Κύρν', ἀπὸ τηλαυγέος φαινόμενος σκοπιῆς.
ἀλλ' ἵπποις ἔμβαλλε ταχυπτέρνοισι χαλινούς·
δήων γάρ σφ' ἀνδρῶν ἀντιάσειν δοκέω.
οὐ πολλὸν τὸ μεσηγύ· διαπρήξουσι κέλευθον,
εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί.

553 διαπρήσσουνσι Par. 2883, prob. West ("participium
video")

555-60

555 χρὴ τολμᾶν χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσι κείμενον ἄνδρα,
πρὸς τε θεῶν αἰτεῖν ἔκλυσιν ἀθανάτων.
φράζεο δ'—ὁ κλῆρός τοι ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς·
ἄλλοτε πόλλ' ἔξεις, ἄλλοτε παυρότερα—
ὥστε σε μήτε λίην ἀφνεὸν κτεάτεσσι γενέσθαι,
560 μήτε σέ γ' ἐς πολλὴν χρημοσύνην ἐλάσαι.

557 κίνδυνός codd., κλῆρός tentavit West (δ' ὁ om. o)
559 λῶιστά σε Geel (plene interpungens post 558)

¹ Text and translation highly uncertain. See West, *Studies* 156. Except for West, editors treat 555-56, which are almost identical to 1178ab, as a separate couplet, and some assume three separate couplets.

THEOGNIS

547-48

Don't at all apply force on anyone by base means; nothing is better for the just man than a kindly act.¹

¹ West punctuates differently, taking τῷ δὲ δικάϊῳ with what precedes, but "don't apply force by base means, but by justice" gives an unlikely combination.

549-54

The voiceless messenger,¹ shining from the far-gleaming lookout, is rousing tearful war, Cynus. Come, place bits on the swift-heeled horses, for I think they'll meet the enemy. The distance between is not great; they'll get there,² unless the gods deceive my judgement.

¹ A beacon fire. ² West (*Studies* 156) considers this "inane" and prefers the dative διαπρήσσουσι, "I think they will meet the foe—the distance is not far—already on the way," but the presence of both genitive and dative with ἀντιάσειν in the same sentence is intolerably harsh, even though both constructions are found. West, following Hudson-Williams, treats 554 as inserted from 540 to replace a lost verse, and this is highly probable.

555-60

The man laid low in painful hardships must endure and ask the immortal gods for release. Take heed—your estate is balanced on a razor's edge; at one time you will have much, at another less—so as not to become exceedingly rich in possessions nor to enter into great poverty.¹

ELEGIAC POETRY

561-62

εἴη μοι τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ πόλλ' ἐπιδούναι
χρήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἔχειν.

563-66

565 κεκλήσθαι δ' ἐς δαῖτα, παρέζεσθαι δὲ παρ' ἐσθλὸν
ἄνδρα χρεὼν σοφίην πᾶσαν ἐπιστάμενον.
τοῦ συνιεῖν, ὅποταν τι λέγῃ σοφόν, ὄφρα
διδασκῆς,
καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς οἶκον κέρδος ἔχων ἀπίης.

567-70

570 ἦβη τερπόμενος παίζω· δηρὸν γὰρ ἔνερθεν
γῆς ὀλέσας ψυχὴν κείσομαι ὥστε λίθος
ἄφθογγος, λείψω δ' ἐρατὸν φάος ἡλίοιο·
ἔμψης δ' ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ὄψομαι οὐδὲν ἔτι.

571-72

δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα, πείρα δ'
ἄριστον·
πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν.

573-74

εὖ ἔρδων εὖ πάσχε· τί κ' ἄγγελον ἄλλον ἰάλλοις;
τῆς εὐεργεσίης ῥηδίη ἀγγελίη.

573 πράττε ο

THEOGNIS

561-62

May I have some of my enemies' property for myself
and hand over most of theirs to my friends to keep.

563-66

You should get invited to dinner and sit beside a
man of worth who knows every kind of skill. When-
ever he says something clever, take note of it so that
you may learn and go home with this as profit.

567-70

I have fun, delighting in my youth; for I will lie a long
time beneath the earth, mute as a stone, when my
life is over and I leave the sun's lovely light. For all
my merit I'll have sight no more.

571-72

(Mere) reputation is a great evil for men; trial is
best. Many who have not been tested have a reputa-
tion for merit.¹

¹ Repeated at 1104ab. West takes δόξα to mean "hope or expectation" and ἀγαθῶν "good things to come," translating: "Vain fantasy's no good, experience is the thing. Many imagine joys they've never known."

573-74

Experience good by doing good. Why would you
send another messenger? News of a good deed trav-
els easily.

ELEGIAC POETRY

575-76

575 οἷ με φίλοι προδιδούσιν, ἐπεὶ τόν γ' ἐχθρόν
 ἀλεῦμαι
 ὥστε κυβερνήτης χοιράδας εἰναλίας.

577-78

“ρήιον ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ θείναι κακὸν ἢ 'κ κακοῦ
 ἐσθλόν.”
 —μή με δίδασκ'· οὔτοι τηλίκος εἰμὶ μαθεῖν.

577 ῥηϊδιον A, ῥήδιον o, corr. Schneider

579-82

580 ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ πάρειμι,
 σμικρῆς ὄρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχουσα νόον·
 ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περὶδρομον, ἄνδρα τε
 μάργον,
 ὃς τὴν ἀλλοτρίην βούλετ' ἄρουραν ἀροῦν.

580 μικρῆς o ἔχοντα West

583-84

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προβέβηκεν, ἀμήχανόν ἐστι
 γενέσθαι
 ἀργά· τὰ δ' ἐξοπίσω, τῶν φυλακῇ μελέτω.

584 ἔργα codd., corr. Eldick

THEOGNIS

575-76

It's my friends who betray me, for I avoid my enemy
just as the helmsman avoids reefs in the sea.¹

¹ Well paraphrased by Hudson-Williams: "It is my friends who betray me; for I can easily keep off my declared enemies, just as a pilot can keep his ship clear of the reefs that stand out above the surface of the sea.' A false friend is like a hidden reef."

577-78

"It is easier to make bad from good than good from bad." —Don't try to teach me; I'm too old to learn.¹

¹ The pentameter seems to be a sarcastic reply to a well-known saying.

579-82

I hate a scoundrel and I veil myself as I pass by, with
as little thought for him as a small bird would have.¹
And I hate a woman who runs around, and a lecher
who wants to plough a field belonging to another.²

¹ Translation uncertain. With West's emendation the verse describes the man, "a creature with a small bird's empty brains," as he translates it. ² Some editors treat the couplets as separate and some combine them with 583-84. Attempts have been made to identify the speaker with figures from mythology or with a personification such as Tyche, Dike etc.

583-84

But what is past cannot be undone; let precaution
against what is to come be your concern.

ELEGIAC POETRY

585-90

- 585 πᾶσίν τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν
 πῇ σχήσειν μέλλει πρήγματος ἀρχομένου·
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὐδοκιμεῖν πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας
 εἰς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεσεν·
 τῷ δὲ κακῶς ποιεῦντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα τίθησιν
 590 συντυχίην ἀγαθὴν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης.

Stob. 4.47.16; 3.9.23 (Solonis), vv. 585-90

585 πᾶσι δέ τοι Sol. 586 ποῖο, Stob.: ἥ μέλλει σχήσειν
 χρήματος Sol. 587 εὖ ἔρδειν Sol.
 589 καλῶς ποιεῦντι codd., καλὸν ποιοῦντι Stob., κακῶς ἔρδοντι
 Sol. καλὰ πάντα Stob. δίδωσιν Sol. 590 ἀγαθῶν Stob.
 ἔκδυσιν δ' Stob. SA

591-94

τολμᾶν χρή τὰ διδοῦσι θεοὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
 ῥηϊδίως δὲ φέρειν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ λάχος,
 μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀσῶντα λήην φρένα, μήτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν
 τερφθῆς ἐξαπίνης πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰδεῖν.

593 κακοῖσι νοσοῦντα λυποῦ φρένα ο 594 τερφθέντ'
 Bekker

595-98

- 595 ἄνθρωπ', ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπόπροθεν ὦμεν ἐταῖροι
 πλὴν πλούτου παντὸς χρήματός ἐστι κόρος.
 δὴν δὴ καὶ φίλοι ὦμεν· ἀτάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ὁμίλει
 ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τὸν σὸν μᾶλλον ἴσασι νόον.

597 cf. 1243 ὁμιλεῖν ο

THEOGNIS

585-90

In truth, there is risk in every action and no one knows, when something starts, how it is going to turn out. The man who tries for a good reputation falls unawares into great and harsh calamity, while to the one who acts badly the god gives success in all things, an escape from his folly.¹

¹ A version of Solon fr. 13.65-70.

591-94

One must endure what the gods give mortal men and calmly bear both lots,¹ neither too sick at heart in bad times nor suddenly rejoicing² in good times, until the final outcome is seen.

¹ I.e., good and bad fortune.

² Literally, "and don't suddenly rejoice." For the syntax see West, *Studies* 156-57.

595-98

Let's be comrades at a distance, fellow. There is satiety in everything except for wealth. In fact, let's be friends for a long time, but associate with other men who have a better understanding of how you think.¹

¹ Hudson-Williams' explanation seems to be correct: "I am willing to be your friend as long as you like, but never let me see your face again."

ELEGIAC POETRY

599-602

οὐ μ' ἔλαθες φοιτῶν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ἦν ἄρα καὶ
πρὶν

600 ἡλάστρεις, κλέπτων ἡμετέρην φιλίην.
ἔρρε θεοῖσιν <τ'> ἐχθρὲ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἄπιστε,
ψυχρὸν ὅς ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν.

601 τ' add. *p* 602 ὄν . . . εἶχον Sintenis

603-604

τοιάδε καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσεν ἔργα καὶ ὕβρις,
οἷα τὰ νῦν ἱερὴν τήνδε πόλιν κατέχει.

605-606

605 πολλῶ τοι πλέονας λιμοῦ κόρος ὤλεσεν ἤδη
ἄνδρας, ὅσοι μοίρης πλείον' ἔχειν ἔθελον.

Stob. 3.18.9 (vv. 605-606)

Teles (p. 45 Hense) ap. Stob. 4.32.21 (v. 605)

605 πλείους Teles 606 πλεῦν' ἐθέλουσιν ἔχειν Stob.

607-10

ἀρχῇ ἔπι ψεύδους μικρὰ χάρις· εἰς δὲ τελευτὴν
αἰσχροὺν δὴ κέρδος καὶ κακόν, ἀμφότερον,
γίνεται, οὐδέ τι καλόν, ὅτῳ ψεύδος προσομαρτῇ
610 ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐξέλθῃ πρῶτον ἀπὸ στόματος.

Stob. 3.12.16 (vv. 607-10)

608 ἀμφότερα Stob. MA 609 προσομαρτῇ A, προσ-
ομαρτεῖ 0, Stob. MA, -ῇ Stob. S

THEOGNIS

599-602

I was well aware that you were travelling along the common road you used to drive before, cheating on my friendship. To hell with you, hated by the gods and distrusted by men, you who kept a cold and cunning serpent in your bosom.

603-604

Such acts of lawlessness destroyed Magnesia¹ as now prevail in this holy city.

¹ Cf. Archilochus fr. 20.

605-606

Excess to be sure has already destroyed many more men than famine, men who wanted to have more than their allotment.

607-10

At the beginning of a lie there's a small pleasure; but in the end the gain is both shameful and foul, and there's no honour for a man when once a lie accompanies him and issues from his mouth.

ELEGIAC POETRY

611-14

οὐ χαλεπὸν ψέξαι τὸν πλησίον, οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτὸν
αἰνῆσαι· δειλοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα μέλει.
σιγᾶν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι κακοὶ κακὰ λεσχάζοντες,
οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μέτρον ἴσασιν ἔχειν.

615-16

615 οὐδένα παμπήδην ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέτριον ἄνδρα
τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἡέλιος καθορᾷ.

617-18

οὐ τι μάλ' ἀνθρώποις καταθύμια πάντα τελεῖται·
πολλὸν γὰρ θνητῶν κρέσσονες ἀθάνατοι.

Stob. 4.34.55 (vv. 617-18)

618 πολλῶν O, Stob. (unde πολλῶ Gesnerus)

619-22

620 πόλλ' ἐν ἀμνηχανίῃσι κυλίνδομαι ἀχνύμενος κῆρ·
ἄκρην γὰρ πενίην οὐχ ὑπερεδράμομεν.
πᾶς τις πλούσιον ἄνδρα τίει, ἀτίει δὲ πενιχρόν·
πᾶσιν δ' ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

Stob. 4.33.15 (vv. 619-22)

622 αὐτὸς codd., corr. Blaydes

623-24

παντοῖαι κακότητες ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔασιν,
παντοῖαι δ' ἀρεταὶ καὶ βιότου παλάμαι.

THEOGNIS

611-14

It's not hard to find fault with your neighbour nor indeed to praise oneself; these things are the concern of base men. The base, with their base gossip, refuse to be silent, but the noble know how to observe due measure in all things.

615-16

Of those whom the sun now looks down upon, there's not a man who is wholly good and moderate.

617-18

By no means is everything accomplished according to men's desires; for the immortals are far superior to mortals.

619-22

Often I toss about in helplessness, distressed at heart; for I have not run over the crest of poverty.¹ Everyone honours a rich man, but despises a pauper; all men have the same attitude.

¹ Cf. 1114ab.

623-24

There are all kinds of badness in men, and all kinds of excellence and means of livelihood.

ELEGIAC POETRY

625-26

625 ἀργαλέον φρονέοντα παρ' ἄφροσι πόλλ' ἀγορεύειν
καὶ σιγᾶν αἰεὶ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν.

Stob. 3.34.13 (vv. 625-26)

Suda i.339.28 Adler; *Paroem. Gr.* i.211.11, 357.3, ii.101.7
(v. 625)

627-28

αἰσχρο^νν τοι μεθύοντα παρ' ἀνδράσι νήφοσιν
εἶναι,
αἰσχρο^νν δ' εἰ νήφων παρ μεθύουσι μένει.

Stob. 3.18.10 (vv. 627-28)

627 ἐχθρόν Stob. (item 628) νήφουσ' ο νήφοσι
μείναι Leutsch (fort. recte)

629-30

ἤβη καὶ νεότης ἐπικουφίζει νόον ἀνδρός,
630 πολλῶν δ' ἐξαίρει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην.

Stob. 4.11.12 (vv. 629-30)

631-32

ᾧτινι μὴ θυμοῦ κρέσσων νόος, αἰὲν ἐν ἄταις,
Κύρνε, καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις κεῖται ἀμηχανίαις.

632 καὶ μεγάλαις κεῖται ἐν ἀμπλακίαις codd., corr. Bergk cl.
646

THEOGNIS

625-26

It's painful for a man of sense to speak at length in the presence of fools and painful to be always silent; for this is impossible.¹

¹ West, following Hudson-Williams, treats the last four words as a later addition to fill a gap. This seems highly probable, in spite of van Groningen's defence.

627-28

It's disgraceful for a drunk to be in sober company and disgraceful if a sober man keeps company with drunks.

629-30

Youthful impetuosity makes a man's mind frivolous and arouses the heart of many to wrongdoing.

631-32

He whose mind does not control his heart always finds himself in trouble, Cynus, and in great perplexity.

ELEGIAC POETRY

633-34

βουλεύου δις καὶ τρίς, ὃ τοί κ' ἐπὶ τὸν νόον ἔλθη·
ἀτηρὸς γάρ τοι λάβρος ἀνὴρ τελέθει.

635-36

635 ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔπεται γνώμη τε καὶ αἰδώς·
οἱ νῦν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀτρεκέως ὀλίγοι.

Stob. 3.37.16 (vv. 635-36)

637-38

ἐλπίς καὶ κίνδυνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὁμοῖοι
οὗτοι γὰρ χαλεποὶ δαίμονες ἀμφότεροι.

Stob. 4.46.11 (vv. 637-38)

637 ὁμοῖα Stob.

639-40

640 πολλάκι παρ δόξαν τε καὶ ἐλπίδα γίνεται εὖ ρεῖν
ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν, βουλαῖς δ' οὐκ ἐπέγεντο τέλος.

Stob. 4.47.15 (vv. 639-40)

639 ευρεῖν A, εύρεῖν cett.: expl. Ahrens
Stob., unde ἐπέθεντο coniecit West

640 ἔπεσεν τὸ

641-44

οὗτοι κ' εἰδείης οὔτ' εὖνουν οὔτε τὸν ἐχθρόν,
εἰ μὴ σπουδαίου πρήγματος ἀντιτύχοις.
πολλοὶ παρ κρητῆρι φίλοι γίνονται ἐταῖροι,
ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

THEOGNIS

633-34

Reflect two or three times on whatever comes into your head; for a reckless man assuredly ends up in ruin.

635-36

Good judgement and discretion accompany the noble; there are now precious few of them among many.

637-38

Expectation and risk are similar among mankind; for they are both harsh forces.

639-40

It often happens that the activities of men flow along well contrary to expectation and hope, while their plans meet with no success.

641-44

You can't know either your friend or your enemy, unless you find yourself engaged in a serious enterprise. Many are your friends and comrades at the mixing bowl, but not so many when the enterprise is serious.¹

¹ Cf. 115-16.

ELEGIAC POETRY

645-46

645 παύρους κηδεμόνας πιστοὺς εὖροις κεν ἑταίρους
κείμενος ἐν μεγάλῃ θυμὸν ἀμηχανίῃ.

647-48

ἦ δὴ νῦν αἰδῶς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὄλωλεν,
αὐτὰρ ἀναιδείῃ γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται.

Stob. 3.32.8 (vv. 647-48)

647 ἤδη codd., corr. Bergk

649-52

650 ἄ δειλὴ Πενίη, τί ἐμοῖς ἐπικειμένη ὤμοις
σῶμα καταισχύνεις καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον;
αἰσχροὶ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίῃ καὶ πολλὰ
διδάσκεις
ἐσθλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ κάλ' ἐπιστάμενον.

Stob. 4.32.34 (vv. 649-52 + 177-78)

649 ἐμοῖσι καθημένη ο 651 καὶ codd., κακὰ Stob.
652 παρ' ο

653-54

εὐδαίμων εἶην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν,
Κύρν' ἀρετῆς δ' ἄλλης οὐδεμιῆς ἔραμαι.

Stob. 4.39.12 (vv. 653-54)

653 κε Α

THEOGNIS

645-46

You can find few comrades who care about you and are loyal, when your heart lies in great perplexity.

647-48

Now inhibition is lost among men and shamelessness roams over the land.

649-52

Ah wretched Poverty, why do you lie upon my shoulders and deform my body and mind? Forcibly and against my will you teach me much that is shameful, although I know what is noble and honourable among men.

653-54

May I have divine favour and be dear to the immortal gods, Cynos. I crave no other merit.

ELEGIAC POETRY

655-56

655 σύν τοι, Κύρνε, παθόντι κακῶς ἀνιώμεθα πάντες·
 ἀλλά τοι ἀλλότριον κῆδος ἔφημέριον.

657-66

μηδὲν ἄγαν χαλεποῖσιν ἀσῶ φρένα μηδ'
 ἀγαθοῖσιν
 χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ ἔστ' ἀνδρὸς πάντα φέρειν ἀγαθοῦ.
οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρὴ τοῦθ', ὅτι "μήποτε πρῆγμα τόδ'
 ἔσται."

660 θεοὶ γάρ τοι νεμεσῶσ', οἷσιν ἔπεστι τέλος.
 κᾶπρηξαν μέντοι τι καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸν ἔγεντο
 καὶ κακὸν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· καί τε πενιχρὸς ἀνὴρ
 αἶψα μάλ' ἐπλούτησε, καὶ ὅς μάλα πολλὰ πέπαται
 ἐξαπίνης τ' ἀπὸ πάντ' οὖν† ὤλεσε νυκτὶ μιῇ·
665 καὶ σῶφρων ἦμαρτε, καὶ ἄφρονι πολλάκι δόξα
 ἔσπετο, καὶ τιμῆς καὶ κακὸς ὦν ἔλαχεν.

Stob. 4.42.5 (vv. 665-66)

659 τοῦτο τί codd. (τί om. O): expl. Camerarius

661 καὶ πρῆξαι codd., κᾶπρηξαν West, alii alia

663 πέπασται codd., corr. Brunck

664 αποτοῦν A, πάντ'

οὖν p, πάντα O, ἀπὸ πάντ' Bergk

667-82

εἰ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχοιμι, Σιμωνίδη, οἶά περ ἦδη,
 οὐκ ἂν ἀνιώμην τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι συνών.
 νῦν δέ με γινώσκοντα παρέρχεται, εἰμὶ δ' ἄφωνος
670 χρημοσύνη, πολλῶν γνοὺς ἂν ἄμεινον ἔτι,

THEOGNIS

655-56

We all share your pain, Cynus, in your misfortune,
but grief for another is short-lived.

657-66

Don't be too vexed at heart in hard times or rejoice too much in good times, since it is the mark of a noble man to endure everything.¹ And you shouldn't swear, "this will never be," for the gods are resentful and the outcome depends on them. They act, what's more;² good comes from bad and bad from good; a poor man suddenly gets very rich, and he who has acquired a great deal suddenly loses it all in one night; a sensible man errs, fame often accompanies the fool, and even a base man wins honour.

¹ Cf. 593-94. Many editors treat 657-58 as separate.

² West's translation of his emendation, but the correct text is perhaps still to be found.

667-82

If I had wealth, Simonides,¹ such as I once had, I wouldn't feel distressed in the company of the noble. But now I am aware that it passes me by and want deprives me of a voice, although I would have recognized² still better than many that we are now being carried along,³ with white sails lowered, be-

ELEGIAC POETRY

οὔνεκα νῦν φερόμεσθα καθ' ἰστία λευκὰ
βαλόντες

Μηλίου ἐκ πόντου νύκτα διὰ δνοφερήν,
ἀντλεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ
θάλασσα

675 ἀμφοτέρων τοίχων. ἥ μάλα τις χαλεπῶς
σώζεται, οἳ ἔρδουσιν κυβερνήτην μὲν ἔπαυσαν
ἐσθλόν, ὅτις φυλακὴν εἶχεν ἐπισταμένως·
χρήματα δ' ἀρπάζουσι βίῃ, κόσμος δ' ἀπόλωλεν,
δασμὸς δ' οὐκέτ' ἴσος γίνεται ἐς τὸ μέσον·
φορτηγοὶ δ' ἄρχουσι, κακοὶ δ' ἀγαθῶν
καθύπερθεν.

680 δειμαίνω, μή πως ναῦν κατὰ κῦμα πῆν.
ταῦτά μοι ἡνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν·
γινώσκοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ κακόν, ἄν σοφὸς ᾖ.

667 ἦδειν *p* 670 γνοῦσαν *A*, γνοῦς *O*, γνοῦς ἄρ' *D*o-
ver, γνοῦς ἐν *van Groningen* 675 οἱ δ' *codd.* (εὔδουσιν *p*),
corr. *Bekker* 682 κακός *Brunck* (probb. *West*, alii)

683-86

πολλοὶ πλοῦτον ἔχουσιν αἰδρίες· οἱ δὲ τὰ καλὰ
ζητοῦσιν χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ.
685 ἔρδειν δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἀμηχανίῃ παράκειται·
εἵργει γὰρ τοὺς μὲν χρήματα, τοὺς δὲ νόος.

Stob. 4.31.44 (vv. 683-86)

686 εἵργει τοὺς μὲν δὴ *Stob.*

THEOGNIS

yond the Melian sea⁴ through the dark night, and they refuse to bail, even though the sea is washing over both sides. In very truth, safety is difficult for anyone, such things are they doing; they have deposed the noble helmsman⁵ who skilfully kept watch, they seize possessions by force, and discipline is lost; no longer is there an equal distribution in the common interest; the porters rule, and the base are above the noble. I'm afraid that perhaps a wave will swallow the ship. Let these be my riddling words with hidden meaning for the noble. But anyone, if he is wise, can recognize the actual calamity.⁶

¹ See n. 1 on 467-96. ² Text uncertain. Van Groningen's emendation is attractive, "although I knew one thing still better than many."

³ From 671 to 680 we have the imagery of the ship of state. A social and political revolution is underway and the nobility are apparently making little effort to avoid a total overthrow.

⁴ Melos is at the southwest edge of the Cyclades, beyond which is open sea.

⁵ Presumably the nobles who held power rather than an individual.

⁶ With Brunck's emendation, accepted by most, the meaning will be, "But even a base man, if he is clever, can recognize (the meaning of my riddling words)."

683-86

Many who are fools have wealth, while others who are oppressed by harsh poverty strive for what is honourable. But both are helpless to act, for the latter are constrained by possessions, the former by intelligence.¹

¹ I.e., lack of possessions and lack of intelligence.

ELEGIAC POETRY

687-88

οὐκ ἔστι θνητοῖσι πρὸς ἀθανάτους μαχέσασθαι,
οὐδὲ δίκην εἰπεῖν οὐδενὶ τοῦτο θέμις.

689-90

690 οὐ χρὴ πημαίνειν, ὅτε μὴ πημαντέον εἴη,
οὐδ' ἔρδειν ὃ τι μὴ λώιον ᾗ τελέσαι.

689 ὅτι ed. Aldina εἴη Schneider 690 ὅτε ο

691-92

Χαίρων, εὖ τελέσειας ὁδὸν μεγάλου διὰ πόντου,
καί σε Ποσειδάων χάρμα φίλοις ἀγάγοι.

691 nomen proprium agnovit Sitzler ἐκτελέσειας Hecker
692 ἀνάγοι Hecker

693-94

πολλούς τοι κόρος ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσεν
ἀφραίνοντας·
γνῶναι γὰρ χαλεπὸν μέτρον, ὅτ' ἐσθλὰ παρῇ.

Stob. 3.4.43 (vv. 693-94)

693 πολλός Stob. ἀφρονέοντας p 694 μέτρον
codd., παῦρον Stob.

695-96

695 οὐ δύναμαί σοι, θυμέ, παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα πάντα·
τέτλαθι τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὔ τι σὺ μούνος ἐρᾷς.

Stob. 3.19.11 (vv. 695-96)

696 οὐχὶ Stob.

THEOGNIS

687-88

It is not possible for mortals to fight against the gods or to pronounce judgement (on them); no one has this right.

689-90

One ought not to cause harm, except when harm is called for, nor do what is better left undone.

691-92

Chaeron,¹ may you safely complete your voyage over the vast sea and may Poseidon bring you as a joy to your friends.

¹ Most editors read the participle 'rejoicing,' but West (*Studies* 158) rightly remarks that the proper name avoids the redundancy with εὖ and gives more point to the play on words with χάριμα.

693-94

Excess has ruined many foolish men; it's difficult to recognize a limit, whenever prosperity is at hand.

695-96

My heart, I cannot provide you with everything that is fitting. Be patient: you're not the only one to have a passion for fine things.

ELEGIAC POETRY

697-98

εὖ μὲν ἔχοντος ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ φίλοι· ἦν δέ τι δεινὸν
συγκύρση, παῦροι πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.

697 δειλὸν Bergk (prob. West) 698 ἐγκύρση ο

699-718

700 πλήθει δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ μία γίνεται ἥδε,
πλουτεῖν τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν ὄφελος,
οὐδ' εἰ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχοις Ῥαδαμάνθους
αὐτοῦ,
πλείονα δ' εἰδείης Σισύφου Αἰολίδεω,
ὅς τε καὶ ἐξ Ἀΐδεω πολυιδρίησιν ἀνῆλθεν
πέισας Περσεφόνην αἰμυλίοισι λόγοις,
705 ἥ τε βροτοῖς παρέχει λήθην βλάπτουσα νόοιο—
ἄλλος δ' οὗ πώ τις τοῦτό γ' ἐπεφράσατο,
ὄντινα δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφικαλύψῃ,
ἔλθῃ δ' ἐς σκιερὸν χῶρον ἀποφθιμένων,
κυανέας τε πύλας παραμείψεται, αἷ τε θανόντων
710 ψυχὰς εἵργουσιν καίπερ ἀναινομένας·
ἀλλ' ἄρα κακείθεν πάλιν ἤλυθε Σίσυφος ἥρως
ἐς φάος ἡελίου σφῆσι πολυφροσύναις—
οὐδ' εἰ ψεύδεα μὲν ποιοῖς ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
γλώσσαν ἔχων ἀγαθὴν Νέστορος ἀντιθέου,
715 ὠκύτερος δ' εἴησθα πόδας ταχεῶν Ἀρπυιῶν
καὶ παίδων Βορέω, τῶν ἄφαρ εἰσὶ πόδες.

THEOGNIS

697-98

When I am faring well, many are my friends, but if something dire befalls me, few have a trustworthy mind.¹

¹ West, unlike other editors, combines the couplet with what follows.

699-718

For the majority of people this alone is best: wealth. Nothing else after all is of use, not even if you have the good judgement of Rhadamanthys¹ himself or know more than Sisyphus,² son of Aeolus, who by his wits came up even from Hades, after persuading with wily words Persephone who impairs the mind of mortals and brings them forgetfulness. No one else has ever yet contrived this, once death's dark cloud has enveloped him and he has come to the shadowy place of the dead and passed the black gates which hold back the souls of the dead, for all their protestations. But even from there the hero Sisyphus returned to the light of the sun by his cleverness. (Nothing else is of use), not even if you compose lies that are like the truth, with the eloquent tongue of godlike Nestor,³ and were faster of foot than the swift Harpies⁴ and the fleet-footed

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἀλλὰ χρὴ πάντας γνώμην ταύτην καταθέσθαι,
ὥς πλοῦτος πλείστην πᾶσιν ἔχει δύναμιν.

Stob. 4.31.3 (vv. 699-702)

Stob. 4.31.8 (vv. 717-18)

699 πᾶσιν δ' ἀνθρώποις Stob. 701 ἔχεις O, ἔχοι Stob.
MA p.c. 702 εἰδείη Stob. αἰολίδου σισύφου o
703 αἶδαο o 705 νόημα p 708 ἀποφθιμένος A,
ἀποφθίμενος? Young (fort. recte) 713 ψευδέα A
ποιεῖς o 716 βορέου o 717 ταύτην γνώμην πάντας
Stob. (-ως Stob. A)

719-28

720 ἴσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν, ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ τὰ δέοντα πάρεστι
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευραῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἄβρὰ
παθεῖν,
παιδός τ' ἠδὲ γυναικός, ὅταν καὶ τῶν ἀφίκηται,
ῥῃ, σὺν δ' ἥβη γίνεται ἁρμοδία.
725 ταῦτ' ἄφενος θνητοῖσι τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδεω,
οὐδ' ἂν ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι, οὐδὲ
βαρείας
νούσους, οὐδὲ κακὸν γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

Stob. 4.33.7 (vv. 719-28)

Plut. Sol. 2.3 (vv. 719-24, πολὺς—ἁρμοδία)

THEOGNIS

sons of Boreas.⁵ No, everyone should store up⁶ this thought, that for all people wealth has the greatest power.

¹ Son of Zeus and Europa and one of the judges in the underworld.

² He instructed his wife to neglect his burial rites after his death, so that he could use punishment of her as an excuse to be allowed to return to the upperworld.

³ The aged warrior from Pylos whose eloquence is praised in the *Iliad* (cf. esp. 1.247 f.).

⁴ Female wind spirits who snatch (ἀρπάζω) people away (cf. *Od.* 20.66-78).

⁵ Zetes and Calaïs, who are also wind spirits and are represented as winged (*Pind. Pyth.* 4.182 f.).

⁶ The precise meaning of the infinitive is disputed. Van Groningen argues for 'abandon,' but the last couplet seems to repeat rather than oppose the opening statement.

719-28

Equally rich is he who has much silver and gold, fields of wheat-bearing land, and horses and mules, and he who has at hand what is necessary to provide comfort for his stomach, sides, and feet, and the season for a boy and for a wife, whenever the season for this comes, accompanied by a youthful vigour that fits his needs. This is wealth for mortals, since no one goes to Hades with all his enormous possessions nor can he pay a price to escape death or grim diseases or the onset of evil old age.¹

¹ A version of Solon fr. 24. See ad loc. for apparatus and notes.

ELEGIAC POETRY

729-30

φροντίδες ἀνθρώπων ἔλαχον, πτερὰ ποικίλ'
 ἔχουσαι,
 730 μυρόμεναι ψυχῆς εἵνεκα καὶ βιότου.

731-52

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν
 ἀλιτροῖς
 ὕβριν ἀδεῖν, καί σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον
 θυμῷ, σχέτλια ἔργα· †διατάφρεσι† δ' ὅστις
 †ἀθήνης†
 ἐργάζοιτο, θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος,
 735 αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τεῖσαι κακά, μηδ' ἔτ' ὀπίσσω
 πατρὸς ἀτασθαλίας παισὶ γένοιτο κακόν·
 παῖδες δ' οἳ τ' ἀδίκου πατρὸς τὰ δίκαια νοεῦντες
 ποιῶσιν, Κρονίδη, σὸν χόλον ἀζόμενοι,
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ δίκαια μετ' ἀστοῖσιν φιλέοντες,
 740 μήτιν' ὑπερβασίην ἀντιτίνειν πατέρων.
 ταῦτ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς φίλα· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν
 ἔρδων
 ἐκφεύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἔπειτα φέρει.
 καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστι δίκαιον,
 ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων,
 745 μήτιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μήθ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρόν,
 ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;
 τίς δὴ κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος ὁρῶν πρὸς τοῦτον ἔπειτα
 ἄζοιτ' ἀθανάτους, καὶ τίνα θυμὸν ἔχων,

THEOGNIS

729-30

Mankind's allotment is anxieties; they have wings of varied hue and they lament for life and livelihood.¹

¹ The meaning seems to be that semi-personified cares or anxieties bewail the condition of life and substance to which mankind is subjected. The 'wings of varied hue' may symbolize the swiftness with which they appear and the varied forms they take.

731-52

Father Zeus, would that it pleased the gods that wanton outrage delighted sinners and that wicked deeds pleased the hearts of the gods,¹ but that whoever acted . . ., without regard for the gods, should then pay woeful requital in person, and the father's sins should no longer be a bane for his sons afterwards;² and would that sons of an unjust father who act with just intent, dreading your anger, son of Cronus, and loving justice from the start in their dealings with fellow townsmen, should not pay for the transgressions of their fathers. May this be pleasing to the blessed gods. But now the perpetrator escapes and another then suffers misery. Also, king of the immortals, how is it right that a man who keeps from unjust deeds and does not commit transgressions and perjury, but is just, suffers unjustly? What other mortal, looking upon him, would then be in awe of the immortals? What frame of mind

ELEGIAC POETRY

ὁππότ' ἀνὴρ ἄδικος καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, οὔτε τευ
ἀνδρὸς

750 οὔτε τευ ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος,
ὑβρίζῃ πλούτῳ κεκορημένος, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι
τρύχονται χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ;

733 μετὰ φρεσὶ ο θ' Ο ἀθειρῆς Bergk, alii alia
734 μηδέν' Hermann 735 μηδέ τ' fere codd., corr.
Hermann 736 ἀτασθαλία Ο, -ίη ρ γένοιτο ο
737 παῖδας Laur. 31.20 (prob. West) δ' ρ, τ' Α, θ' Ο
738 παιῶσιν Α, ποιούσι ο, corr. Bekker 746 παθεῖν
Turnebus 747 καὶ ο 751 ὑβρίζει ο
752 τρύχωνται Bekker

753-56

ταῦτα μαθών, φίλ' ἐταῖρε, δικαίως χρήματα
ποιού,
σώφρονα θυμὸν ἔχων ἐκτὸς ἀτασθαλίας,
755 αἰεὶ τῶνδ' ἐπέων μεμνημένος· εἰς δὲ τελευτὴν
αἰνήσεις μύθῳ σώφρονι πειθόμενος.

757-64

Ζεὺς μὲν τῇσδε πόλῃος ὑπείρέχοι αἰθέρι ναίων
αἰεὶ δεξιτερὴν χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀπημοσύνη
ἄλλοι τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοί· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
760 ὀρθῶσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον·
φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἥδὲ καὶ
αὐλός·
ἡμεῖς δὲ σπονδὰς θεοῖσιν ἀρεσσάμενοι

THEOGNIS

would he have whenever an unjust and wicked man who does not avoid the wrath of any man or god commits wanton outrage and rolls in wealth, while the just are worn out and consumed by harsh poverty?

¹ Presumably sarcastic.

² Cf. Solon fr. 13.29-32.

753-56

Learning this lesson, dear friend, make wealth by just means, keeping your heart sensible and free of wickedness, ever mindful of these words, and in the end you will rejoice at having heeded my sensible advice.¹

¹ I follow those who connect verb and participle (literally, "you will applaud being persuaded"), but some understand "these words" or "me" as the object of the verb. The verses have the appearance of concluding either a longer poem or a collection of poems.

757-64

May Zeus who dwells in the sky ever hold his right hand over this city to keep off harm, and may the other blessed immortal gods (do likewise); and may Apollo make straight our tongue and mind. Let the lyre sound forth holy song and the pipe also, and

ELEGIAC POETRY

πίνωμεν χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες,
μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δειδιότες πόλεμον.

760 ἀρθῶσαι O, -ώσαι XD 761 φορμιγγ'δ' A,
φόρμιγγ' ο, corr. Brunck φθέγγοισθ' Ap
762 ἀρεσσόμενοι A p.c., O: ἀρυσσάμενοι Emperius, alii alia

765-68

765 ᾧδ' εἶναι καὶ ἄμεινον, εὐφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας
νόσφι μεριμνάων εὐφροσύνως διάγειν
τερπομένους· τηλοῦ δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἀμῦναι
γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ θανάτοιο τέλος.

765 ειν A, εῖη κεν Ahrens, editores plerique

769-72

770 χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον, εἴ τι
περισσὸν
εἰδέϊη, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέθειν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ
ποιεῖν·
τί σφιν χρήσεται μῦθος ἐπιστάμενος;

771 δεικνύειν AO, δεικνύεν Schmidt δεικνύναι· ἄλλα δὲ
ποιῶν dub. West

773-88

775 Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην,
Ἄλκαθόω Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος·
αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μήδων ἀπέρυκε
τῇσδε πόλεως, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ

THEOGNIS

after offering libations satisfying to the gods let us drink, making pleasant conversation with one another and fearing not the Median war.¹

¹ Since "this city" cannot be identified, the war could be as early as that against the Ionian cities in the 540s or as late as Xerxes' invasion of 480.

765-68

May it be thus or better,¹ to pass the time with cheerful hearts in festive pleasure free of cares; and may malevolent spirits, accursed old age, and death's finality be kept far away.

¹ Text and translation uncertain.

769-72

The servant and messenger of the Muses, if he should have any exceptional knowledge, must not be stinting of it, but meditate on (seek out?) some things, display some things, and compose other things.¹ What use would it be for him if he alone knows it?

¹ The three infinitives in 771 refer to poetic activity, but their precise significance is obscure. For numerous interpretations see van Groningen 297-99 and L. Woodbury, *Collected Writings* (Atlanta 1991) 483-90.

773-88

Lord Phoebus, since it was you who built the towering citadel, as a favour to Pelops' son Alcathous,¹ so now keep the Median army's aggression away from this city,² so that at the coming of spring the

- ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ' ἐκατόμβας,
 τερπόμενοι κιθάρῃ καὶ ἐρατῇ θαλίῃ
 παιάνων τε χοροῖς ἰαχῆσί τε σὸν περὶ βωμόν.
 780 ἦ γὰρ ἔγωγε δέδοικ' ἀφραδίην ἐσορῶν
 καὶ στάσιν Ἑλλήνων λαοφθόρον· ἀλλὰ σύ,
 Φοῖβε,
 ἴλαος ἡμετέρην τήνδε φύλασσε πόλιν.
 ἦλθον, μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ εἰς Σικελὴν ποτε
 γαῖαν,
 ἦλθον δ' Εὐβοίης ἀμπελόεν πεδίου,
 785 Σπάρτην τ' Εὐρώτα δονακοτρόφον ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ,
 καὶ μ' ἐφίλευν προφρόνως πάντες
 ἐπερχόμενον·
 ἀλλ' οὔτις μοι τέρψις ἐπὶ φρένας ἦλθεν ἐκείνων·
 οὔτως οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν φίλτερον ἄλλο πάτρης.

Harpocration (= test. 4), v. 783

779 ἰαχαῖσίο, -οισί A, corr. Bekker τὸν O 785 δ' AO

789-94

- μήποτε μοι μελέδημα νεώτερον ἄλλο φανείη
 790 ἀντ' ἀρετῆς σοφίης τ', ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰὲν ἔχων
 τερποίμην φόρμιγγι καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ αἰοιδῇ,
 καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιμι νόον,
 μήτε τινὰ ξείνων δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι λυγροῖς
 μήτε τιν' ἐνδήμων, ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐών.

790 τ' om. o

THEOGNIS

people may send you glorious hecatombs amid festivity, delighting in the lyre and in lovely feasting and in the dances of paeans³ and in cries round your altar. For indeed I am afraid when I look upon the mindless, people-destroying strife of the Greeks. Come, Phoebus, graciously protect this city of ours.⁴ For I went once to the land of Sicily and I went to the vine-rich plain of Euboea and to Sparta, the splendid city of the reed-nourishing Eurotas, and they all treated me with kindly friendship on my arrival. But no delight came to my heart from them, so true it is after all that nothing else is dearer than one's homeland.

¹ For the myth see Hudson-Williams *ad loc.* Apollo was the patron deity of Megara.

² Since "this city" is Megara, the reference must be to Xerxes' invasion of 480, and the poet cannot be Theognis. Carrière, followed by West, suggests that the author may be Philiadas, an obscure Megarian poet who composed a poem on the dead at Thermopylae.

³ Here, as often, songs of thanksgiving.

⁴ What follows is usually treated as a separate segment and as proof that Theognis could not have been a native of Sicilian Megara (see *testt.* 2-4). I hesitantly follow West in combining the verses.

789-94

May no other new pursuit arise for me in place of excellence and learning, but ever holding on to this may I enjoy lyre, dance, and song, and may I have noble thoughts in company with the noble, harming with hurtful deeds neither foreigner nor citizen, but living righteously.¹

¹ Many editors combine the last couplet with 795-96.

ELEGIAC POETRY

795-96

795 τὴν σαντοῦ φρένα τέρπε· δυσηλεγέων δὲ πολιτῶν
ἄλλος τοί σε κακῶς, ἄλλος ἄμεινον ἐρεῖ.

797-98

τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλος μάλα μέμφεται, ἄλλος
ἐπαινεί,
τῶν δὲ κακῶν μνήμη γίνεται οὐδεμία.

799-800

800 ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄψεκτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ γίνεται οὐδεὶς·
ἀλλ' ὥς λώιον, εἰ μὴ πλεόνεσσι μέλοι.

800 ειλωῖον A, λωῖον ὁ ο (οὗ XD, οὐ I), (ἄλλως) λώιον εἰ
Hermann

801-804

οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ἔσσεται οὔτε πέφυκεν
ὅστις πᾶσιν ἀδὼν δύσεται εἰς Ἀΐδεω·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅς θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει,
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, θνητοῖς πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναται.

805-10

805 τόρνον καὶ στάθμης καὶ γνώμονος ἄνδρα θεωρὸν
εὐθύτερον χρὴ <ἔ>μεν, Κύρνε, φυλασσόμενον,
ᾧτινί κεν Πυθῶνι θεοῦ χρήσασ' ἱέρεια
ὁμφὴν σημήνην πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτου·

THEOGNIS

795-96

Enjoy yourself. Some of the harsh citizens will speak ill of you, some better.¹

¹ The couplet also occurs as Mimnermus fr. 7. See ad loc. for variant readings.

797-98

Some vehemently blame the noble and others praise them, but of the base there is no recollection at all.

799-800

There is no one on earth who escapes blame; but it is better thus, if the majority pay no heed.

801-804

There never has been nor will there be a man who will please everyone before he goes down to Hades. For not even he who is lord of mortals and immortals, Zeus the son of Cronus, can please all men.¹

¹ Cf. 24-26.

805-10

A man sent to consult the oracle must take care, Cynus, to be straighter than a carpenter's compass, rule, and square, that man to whom the priestess of the god¹ at Delphi in her response reveals the god's voice from the wealthy shrine. For you can no

ELEGIAC POETRY

οὔτε τι γὰρ προσθεῖς οὐδέν κ' ἔτι φάρμακον
εὖροις,

810 οὐδ' ἀφελὼν πρὸς θεῶν ἀμπλακίην προφύγοις.

805 θεωρῶν codd., corr. Vinetus 806 χρῆ μὲν codd.,
corr. Ahrens 807 vel κ' ἐν (Hudson-Williams) 809 κέ
τι ο

811-14

χρῆμ' ἔπαθον θανάτου μὲν ἀεικέος οὔτι κάκιον,
τῶν δ' ἄλλων πάντων, Κύρν', ἀνιηρότατον·
οἱ με φίλοι προύδωκαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐχθροῖσι πελασθεὶς
εἰδήσω καὶ τῶν ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

814 τὸν ΑΟ

815-18

815 βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατερῷ ποδὶ λὰξ
ἐπιβαίνων
ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον,
Κύρν'· ἔμπης δ' ὅ τι μοῖρα παθεῖν οὐκ ἔσθ'
ὑπαλύξαι.
ὅττι δὲ μοῖρα παθεῖν, οὔτι δέδοικα παθεῖν.

815 γλώσσης ο

819-20

820 ἐς πολυάρητον κακὸν ἤκομεν, ἔνθα μάλιστα,
Κύρνε, συναμφοτέρους μοῖρα λάβοι θανάτου.

819 πολὺ ἄρρητον ο

THEOGNIS

longer find any remedy² if you add anything nor can you avoid sinning in the eyes of the gods if you take anything away.

¹ Apollo.

² According to West (*Studies* 159), "the remedy supplied by the oracle for the situation which prompted its consultation."

811-14

I have suffered something that is not actually worse than ugly death, Cynus, but that is more bitter than anything else: my friends have betrayed me. I'll approach my enemies and see how they're disposed.

815-18

An ox steps on my tongue with his powerful foot,¹ Cynus, and prevents me from flattering, although I know how to. After all, it's impossible to escape from what one is destined to suffer; and I'm not at all afraid to suffer what it is my fate to suffer.²

¹ A proverbial statement used of those who cannot speak freely.

² Except for West, editors treat the two couplets as separate. West deletes the last verse, attributing it to some Stoic editor, and this is a decided improvement.

819-20

Cynus, we have reached the terrible situation against which our prayers were often directed,¹ a situation in which it would be best if our allotted death were to seize us both together.

¹ Or possibly, "a terrible situation that is utterly accursed."

ELEGIAC POETRY

821-22

οἷ κ' ἀπογηράσκοντας ἀτιμάζωσι τοκῆας,
τούτων τοι χώρη, Κύρν', ὀλίγη τελέθει.

821 δ' p ἀτιμάζουσι codd., corr. Bergk

823-24

μήτε τιν' αὖξε τύραννον ἐπ' ἐλπίσι, κέρδεσιν
εἴκων.
μήτε κτεῖνε θεῶν ὄρκια συνθέμενος.

823 ἐλπίδι Bekker cl. 333 (prob. West)

824 κτεῖναι ο

825-30

825 πῶς ὑμῖν τέτληκεν ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰεῖδεν
θυμός; γῆς δ' οὖρος φαίνεται ἐξ ἀγορῆς,
ἧ τε τρέφει καρποῖσιν τέν εἰλαπίναις φορέοντας
ξανθῆσίν τε κόμαις πορφυρέους στεφάνους.†
ἀλλ' ἄγε δῆ, Σκύθα, κείρε κόμην, ἀπόπαυε δὲ
κῶμον,
830 πένθει δ' εὐώδη χῶρον ἀπολλύμενον.

828 ξανθαῖς ἀμφὶ Schneidewin

831-32

πίστει χρήματ' ὅλεσσα, ἀπιστίῃ δ' ἐσάωσα·
γνώμη δ' ἀργαλήη γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων.

THEOGNIS

821-22

There's little esteem, Cymus, for those who dishonour parents when they're growing old.

823-24

Don't be led on by hopes of gain to increase a tyrant's power, and don't swear an oath by the gods to kill him.

825-30

How do you endure in your hearts to sing to the piper's accompaniment? From the marketplace there is visible the mortgage-marker of the land that feeds with its fruits those who wear crimson garlands on their blond hair at feasts.¹ Come, Scythes, crop your hair, bring the revelry to an end, and grieve for the fragrant land that is being lost.²

¹ The text is corrupt, but the general sense is clear.

² There is much obscurity in these verses. B. Bravo, *Annales Littéraires de l'Univ. de Besançon* 429 (1990) 41-51, argues that Scythes (a man's name, not an ethnic designation) is holding an elaborate symposium in his house even though his land is mortgaged and that the poet is urging him to crop his hair in grief for the land he will soon lose. My translation reflects this interpretation, but this hinges on the problematic explanation of οὔρος, traditionally understood as the (diminished) boundary of the town's land.

831-32

Through trust I lost my possessions, through distrust I rescued them; awareness of both brings bitterness.

ELEGIAC POETRY

833-36

πάντα τάδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρῳ οὐδέ τις
ἡμῖν

835 αἴτιος ἀθανάτων, Κύρνε, θεῶν μακάρων,
ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε βίη καὶ κέρδεα δειλὰ καὶ ὕβρις
πολλῶν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἐς κακότητ' ἔβαλεν.

837-40

δισσαί τοι πόσιος κῆρες δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
δίψα τε λυσιμελῆς καὶ μέθυσις χαλεπή·
τούτων δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον στρωφήσομαι, οὐδέ με
πείσεις

840 οὔτε τι μὴ πίνειν οὔτε λίην μεθύειν.

841-42

οἶνος ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαρίζεται, ἐν δ'
ἀχάριστος,
εὖτ' ἂν θωρήξας μ' ἄνδρα πρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἄγῃ.

841 ἀχάριστον A

843-44

ἀλλ' ὅποταν καθύπερθεν ἐὼν ὑπένερθε γένηται,
τουτάκισ οἴκαδ' ἵμεν πανσάμενοι πόσιος.

843 ἐὼν Epkema

844 πανσάμενον Camerarius

THEOGNIS

833-36

Everything here has gone to the dogs¹ and to ruin, Cynus, and we can't hold any of the blessed immortal gods responsible. It's the violence of men, their base gains and insolence that have cast us from prosperity into misery.

¹ Literally, "to the crows."

837-40

Two demons of drink beset wretched mortals, enfeebling thirst and harsh drunkenness. I'll steer a middle course between them and you won't persuade me either not to drink or to drink too much.

841-42

For the most part wine gives me pleasure, but in one respect it does not, whenever it intoxicates me and leads me to my enemy.

843-44

But whenever one who was above becomes the one below,¹ then stop drinking and go home.

¹ Various explained, as a disruption of the proper arrangement of the guests, as a collapse to the floor from an upright position, as a sign that one's head is spinning (cf. 505), etc. Some combine the couplet with 841-42.

ELEGIAC POETRY

845-46

845 εὖ μὲν κείμενον ἄνδρα κακῶς θέμεν εὐμαρές ἐστιν,
εὖ δὲ θέμεν τὸ κακῶς κείμενον ἀργαλέον.

845 ἀνδρὶ Hermann

847-50

850 λὰξ ἐπίβα δῆμῳ κενεόφρονι, τύπτε δὲ κέντρῳ
ὄξει καὶ ζεύγλην δύσλοφον ἀμφιτίθει·
οὐ γὰρ ἔθ' εὐρήσεις δῆμον φιλοδέσποτον ὧδε
ἀνθρώπων ὅπόσους ἥελιος καθορᾷ.

851-52

Zeὺς ἄνδρ' ἐξολέσειεν Ὀλύμπιος, ὃς τὸν ἑταῖρον
μαλθακὰ κωτίλλων ἐξαπατᾶν ἐθέλει.

853-54

ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ λώιον ἦδη,
οὐνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ χάρις.

853 ἡδέα codd. (spir. et acc. erasis in A): expl. Camerarius
λώιον ἦδη 1038a, λώϊα δὴ νῦν A, λώϊα ἦ νῦν O, λώονα ἦ νῦν XD
854 τούνεκα A (τ del. A¹) p

855-56

855 πολλάκις ἢ πόλις ἦδε δι' ἡγεμόνων κακότητα
ὥσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν ἔδραμεν.

855 πολλάκι δὴ Schneider

THEOGNIS

845-46

It's easy to displace a man who is well placed, but hard to place well what is badly placed.

847-50

Trample the empty-headed people, jab them with a sharp goad, and place a painful yoke round their necks. For among the people whom the sun looks down upon you'll find none so much in love with tyranny.

851-52

May Olympian Zeus utterly destroy the man who is willing to deceive his comrade with gentle blandishments.

853-54

I knew it before, but I know it much better now, that the base have no gratitude.¹

¹ *Identical to 1038ab, if the text printed is correct.*

855-56

Because of the depravity of its leaders¹ this city has often run along the shore² like a listing (veering?)³ ship.

¹ Cf. 41-42 with n. 3. ² Presumably in the sense of 'too close to the shore.'
³ Either 'listing' because its cargo is unevenly distributed or 'veering' off its proper course.

ELEGIAC POETRY

857-60

τῶν δὲ φίλων εἰ μὲν τις ὄρᾳ μέ τι δειλὸν ἔχοντα,
 αὐχέν' ἀποστρέψας οὐδ' ἐσορᾶν ἐθέλει·
 ἦν δέ τί μοί ποθεν ἐσθλόν, ἃ παυράκι γίνεται
 ἀνδρί,
 860 πολλοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ φιλότητας ἔχω.

857 δεινὸν ο

859 πολλάκι ο

861-64

οἳ με φίλοι προδιδούσι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσί τι δοῦναι
 ἀνδρῶν φαινομένων· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτομάτῃ
 ἐσπερίῃ τ' ἔξειμι καὶ ὀρθρίῃ αὖτις ἔσειμι,
 ἦμος ἀλεκτρυνόνων φθόγγος ἐγειρομένων.

863 αὖθις A, αὖτις p, αὐτῆς O

865-68

865 πολλοῖς ἀχρήστοισι θεὸς διδοῖ ἀνδράσιν ὄλβον
 ἐσθλόν, ὅς οὔτ' αὐτῷ βέλτερος, οὐδὲν ἔων,
 οὔτε φίλοις· ἀρετῆς δὲ μέγα κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται·
 αἰχμητῆς γὰρ ἀνὴρ γῆν τε καὶ ἄστυ σαοῖ.

Stob. 4.42.6 (vv. 865-68)

869-72

870 ἔν μοι ἔπειτα πέσοι μέγας οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεῖν
 χάλκεος, ἀνθρώπων δείμα χαμαιγενέων,
 εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τοῖσιν μὲν ἐπαρκέσω οἳ με φιλεῦσιν,
 τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἀνίη καὶ μέγα πῆμ' ἔσομαι.

870 παλαιγενέων ο

THEOGNIS

857-60

If any of my friends sees that I am in some distress, he turns his neck aside and refuses to look at me; but if something good befalls me from some source, a rare occurrence for a man, I receive many embraces and signs of affection.

861-64

My friends betray me and refuse to give me anything when men appear. Well, of my own accord I'll go out at evening and return at dawn, when the roosters awaken and crow.¹

¹ The speaker is feminine, but beyond that there is no agreement. The many, often bizarre, attempts to explain the verses are surveyed by J. Labarbe in *Serta Leodiensia Secunda* (Liège 1992) 237-45, but his own identification of the speaker as an owl is no less bizarre. According to West (*Studies* 160), "the speaker is in the position of a beggar" and is the wife or daughter of the master of the house.

865-68

To many worthless men the god gives splendid prosperity, which is of no advantage to the man himself or to his friends, since it is nothing, whereas the great fame of valour will never die. For a spearman keeps his land and city safe.

869-72

May the great wide bronze sky fall upon me from above, the fear of earth-born men, if I do not aid those who are my friends and cause my enemies pain and great misery.

ELEGIAC POETRY

873-76

οἶνε, τὰ μέν σ' αἰνῶ, τὰ δὲ μέμφομαι οὐδέ σε
πάμπαν

οὔτε ποτ' ἐχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν δύναμαι.

875 ἐσθλὸν καὶ κακὸν ἐσσι. τίς ἂν σέ γε μωμήσαιοτο,
τίς δ' ἂν ἐπαινῆσαι μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης;

875 γε ρ, τε ΑΟ

876 ἐπαινῆση Αρ, -σει Ο, corr. Brunck

877-78

ἦβα μοί, φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι.

877 ηβανοι Α, ἦβά οί Ο, ἦβάοις ρ, corr. Ahrens ἂν ο
ἔσονται ρ

879-84

880 πῖν' οἶνον, τὸν ἐμοὶ κορυφῆς ὑπο Τηϋγέτοιο
ἄμπελοι ἤνεγκαν τὰς ἐφύτευσ' ὁ γέρων
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι θεοῖσι φίλος Θεότιμος,
ἐκ Πλατανιστοῦντος ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐπάγων.
τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις
μελεδῶνας,
θωρηχθεὶς δ' ἔσσαι πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος.

879 κορυφῆς ἀπὸ codd., corr. Sylburg
Camerarius, -ῶνας codd.

883 μελεδῶνας

885-86

885 εἰρήνη καὶ πλοῦτος ἔχοι πόλιν, ὄφρα μετ' ἄλλων
κωμάζοιμι· κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔραμαι πολέμου.

THEOGNIS

873-76

I praise you, wine, in some respects and find fault with you in others; I can never totally hate or love you. You are a blessing and a bane. What man who's truly wise would blame or praise you?

877-78

Enjoy your youth, my dear heart; soon it will be the turn of other men, and I'll be dead and become dark earth.¹

¹ Identical to 1070ab, except for the first word.

879-84

Drink the wine which was produced for me beneath the peaks of Taygetus¹ from vines planted on the mountain glens by old Theotimus, loved by the gods, who drew cool water from Platanistous. Drinking this, you will scatter troublesome cares and when fortified you'll be much more relaxed.

¹ Above Sparta. Neither Theotimus nor Platanistous has been identified.

885-86

May peace and prosperity attend this city, so that I may hold revelry with others. I have no love of cruel war.

ELEGIAC POETRY

887-88

μηδὲ λίην κήρυκος ἀν' οὓς ἔχε μακρὰ βοῶντος·
οὐ γὰρ πατρώας γῆς πέρι μαρνάμεθα.

889-90

890

ἀλλ' αἰσχροὺν παρεόντα καὶ ὠκυνπόδων ἐπιβάντα
ἵππων μὴ πόλεμον δακρύνοντ' ἐσιδεῖν.

891-94

ὦ μοι ἀναλκίης· ἀπὸ μὲν Κήρινθος ὄλωλεν,
Ληλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον·
οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ φεύγουσι, πόλιν δὲ κακοὶ διέπουσιν.
ὥς δὴ Κυψελιδῶν Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος.

891 οἴμοι codd., corr. nescioquis
κυψελλίζον (om. δὴ) ο, corr. Hermann

894 κυψελίζων A,

895-96

895

γνώμης δ' οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀνὴρ ἔχει αὐτὸς ἐν
αὐτῷ,
οὐδ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, Κύρν', ὀδυνηρότερον.

895 αὐτῷ Orelli

896 ἀνιηρότερον ο

897-900

Κύρν', εἰ πάντ' ἀνδρεσσι καταθνητοῖς
χαλέπαινε
γινώσκων θεὸς νοῦν οἷον ἕκαστος ἔχει

THEOGNIS

887-88

Don't strain your ear for the herald's loud shout; it's not for our homeland that we are fighting.

889-90

But it is shameful, when one is present and mounted on swift-footed horses, not to behold tearful war.

891-94

Shame on weakness! Cerinthus is destroyed and Lelantum's fine vineyards are being ravaged; the nobles are in exile and base men govern the city. May Zeus destroy the race of Cypselids.¹

¹ Cypselus was tyrant of Corinth c. 655-625, but it is unclear which ones of his descendants are meant here and so the fighting cannot be dated. Cerinthus is in northeast Euboea and the Lelantine plain further south. In general see V. Parker, *Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1997), esp. pp. 82-88.

895-96

Cyrnus, a man has nothing better in him than sense and nothing more painful than the lack of it.

897-900

Cyrnus, if god were angry at mortal men for every fault, knowing the inward thoughts each one has

ELEGIAC POETRY

900 αὐτὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι καὶ ἔργματα τῶν τε δικαίων
τῶν τ' ἀδίκων, μέγα κεν πῆμα βροτοῖσιν ἐπῆν.

897 κύρν' εἰ A, κύρνε μὴ ο (οὐ I) (θεὸς θνητοῖς)
χαλέπαινε Hermann, χαλεπαίνειν codd. 898 γινώσκων
ο, -σκειν A θεὸς West, ὥς codd. 899-900 τῷ δὲ (τε
recc.) δικαίῳ τῷ τ' (δ' O, I a.c.) ἀδίκῳ codd., corr. Hermann

901-902

ἔστιν ὁ μὲν χείρων, ὁ δ' ἀμείνων ἔργον ἑκάστων·
οὐδεὶς δ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς ἅπαντα σοφός.

901 ἑκάστων codd., corr. Bekker ἀμείνων ἔργον
ἑκάστων West ("each has his role") 902 αἰστὸς A, unde
ἔσθ' ὅς Meineke

903-30

905 ὅστις ἀνάλωσιν τηρεῖ κατὰ χρήματα †θηρῶν†,
κυδίστην ἀρετὴν τοῖς συνιέουσιν ἔχει.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατιδεῖν βίотου τέλος ἦν, ὅποσον τι
ἤμελλ' ἐκτελέσας εἰς Ἀΐδαο περᾶν,
εἰκὸς ἂν ἦν, ὅς μὲν πλείω χρόνον αἶσαν ἔμιμνεν,
φείδεσθαι μᾶλλον τούτον, ἢ εἶχε βίον·
νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγα πένθος
ὄρωρεν
910 καὶ δάκνομαι ψυχὴν, καὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔχω.
ἐν τριόδῳ δ' ἔστηκα· δύ' εἰσὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ὁδοί μοι·
φροντίζω τούτων ἧντιν' ἴω προτέρην·
ἢ μηδὲν δαπανῶν τρύχω βίον ἐν κακότητι,
ἢ ζῶω τερπνῶς ἔργα τελῶν ὀλίγα.

THEOGNIS

and the deeds of just and unjust alike, it would be a great bane for mortals.¹

¹ Text and translation highly uncertain.

901-902

In every activity one man is worse, another better.
No one on his own is skilled in everything.

903-30

He who watches over his spending according to his means is held in the highest esteem by men of understanding. For if it were possible to see the end of life, how much one was destined to complete before passing into Hades, it would be reasonable for the man who expected a longer period of life to be more sparing, so that he might have livelihood. But as things are, it's impossible. Because of this I am greatly saddened, torn at heart, and of two minds. I'm standing at the crossroads, with two ways ahead of me, and deliberating which of them to choose, whether to spend nothing and wear away my life in misery or to live a life of pleasure, accomplishing

ELEGIAC POETRY

- 915 εἶδον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγ' ὅς ἐφείδετο, κοῦποτε γαστρὶ
 σῖτον ἐλευθέριον πλούσιος ὦν ἐδίδου·
 ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐκτελέσαι κατέβη δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω,
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων οὐπιτυχὼν ἔλαβεν·
 ὥστ' ἐς ἄκαιρα πονεῖν καὶ μὴ δόμεν ᾧ κ' ἐθέλη τις.
- 920 εἶδον δ' ἄλλον ὅς ῥ' γαστρὶ χαριζόμενος
 χρήματα μὲν διέτριψεν, ἐφ' ἡδυφάγῳ φρένα
 τέρψας·
 πτωχεύει δὲ φίλους πάντας, ὅπου τιν' ἴδῃ.
 οὕτω, Δημόκλεις, κατὰ χρήματ' ἄριστον ἀπάντων
 τὴν δαπάνην θέσθαι καὶ μελέτην ἐχέμεν·
- 925 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν προκαμὼν ἄλλῳ κάματον μεταδοίης,
 οὔτ' ἂν πτωχεύων δουλοσύνην τελέοις.
 οὐδ' εἰ γῆρας ἵκοιο τὰ χρήματα πάντ' ἀποδραίῃ·
 ἐν δὲ τοιῷδε γένει χρήματ' ἄριστον ἔχειν.
 ἦν μὲν γὰρ πλουτῆς, πολλοὶ φίλοι, ἦν δὲ πένηαι,
- 930 παῦροι, κοῦκέθ' ὁμῶς αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός.

P. Berol. 21220: v. R. Kotansky, ZPE 96 (1993) 1-5 (vv. 917-33)

903 θήσων Fraccaroli et Cataudella, alii alia

905 ὁπόσος τίς O, ὁπόσον τις p 921 ἐφ' ἡδυφάγῳ

Kotansky, ἔφη δ' ὑπάγῳ codd., ἡδυφάγῳ φ[pap.

925 κάματον Ao et pap., καμάτου Marc. 317 (prob. West)

927 ἵκοιτο p 929 εἰ μὲν γὰρ πλουτεῖς o

931-32

φείδεσθαι μὲν ἄμεινον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ θανόντ'
 ἀποκλαίει
 οὐδεῖς, ἦν μὴ ὁρᾷ χρήματα λειπόμενα.

THEOGNIS

little. For I have seen one who was sparing and though wealthy never gave his belly the food of a freeman, but he went down to the house of Hades before spending his money(?) and some chance person got his property; as a result he toiled to no purpose and did not give (his money) to whomever he wished. And I have seen another who gratifying his belly squandered his money, having delighted his heart with the eating of sweet food; he begs from all his friends, wherever he sees any. So, Democles, it is best of all to spend according to one's means and to be careful. For you won't give another the fruit of your labours after a life of toil nor will you be a beggar and endure slavery. Not even if you reach old age will all your means run out. In such a generation as this it's best to have money. For if you are wealthy, many are your friends, but few if you are poor, and you are no longer the same worthy man you once were.¹

¹ On linguistic grounds this is one of the most recent poems in the collection, probably to be assigned to the 5th century. The addressee, Democles, cannot be identified.

931-32

It is better to save, since not even after your death does anyone mourn, unless he sees property left behind.

ELEGIAC POETRY

933-38

- παύροις ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ καὶ κάλλος ὀπηδεῖ·
 ὄλβιος, ὃς τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἔλαχεν.
 935 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν· ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν
 χώρης εἴκουσιν τοί τε παλαιότεροι.
 γηράσκων <δ'> ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις
 αὐτὸν
 βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει.

Floril. Monac. 118 (vv. 933-34)

cf. Tyrt. fr. 12.37-42 (vv. 935-38)

933 κῦδος Floril. 935 νέοι A, Tyrt.: ἴσοι ο 936 χώροις et οἱ
 ο (εἴκουσιν χώροις p, η sscr. XI, χώρης D), εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης
 Tyrt. 937 δ' add. Camerarius e Tyrt. (ubi v.l.)

939-42

- οὐ δύναμαι φωνῇ λίγ' ἀειδέμεν ὥσπερ ἀηδών·
 940 καὶ γὰρ τὴν προτέρην νύκτ' ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔβην.
 οὐδὲ τὸν αὐλητὴν προφασίζομαι ἀλλὰ μ' ἑταῖρος
 ἐκλείπει σοφίης οὐκ ἐπιδευόμενος.

939 ἀδέμεν codd. (λιγύρ' ο), corr. Schneidewin
 με γῆρυς . . . -όμενον Emperius

941-42

943-44

ἐγγύθεν αὐλητῆρος ἀείσομαι ὧδε καταστάς
 δεξιός, ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν ἐπευχόμενος.

944 θεοῖσ ΑΟ

THEOGNIS

933-38

Success and good looks go hand in hand with few men. Fortunate the one who is allotted both of these. All honour him: the young, those of his own age, and his elders alike yield their place. In his old age he stands out among the townsmen and no one seeks to deprive him of respect or his just rights.

939-42

I cannot sing with the high, clear voice of a nightingale, for last night too I went on a revel. And I won't give the piper as an excuse. But my companion, who's not lacking in artistic ability, leaves me in the lurch.¹

¹ Presumably this means that because of the absence of his musical friend he has to sing, even though carousing has made him hoarse. Emperius' emendation, however, is attractive: "But my voice fails me, though I'm not lacking in artistic ability."

943-44

I'll stand here close to the piper on his right and sing, with prayers to the immortal gods.

ELEGIAC POETRY

945-46

- 945 εἶμι παρὰ στάθμην ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, οὐδετέρωσε
κλινόμενος· χρὴ γάρ μ' ἄρτια πάντα νοεῖν.

947-48

πατρίδα κοσμήσω, λιπαρὴν πόλιν, οὔτ' ἐπὶ δήμῳ
τρέψας οὔτ' ἀδίκους ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος.

Stob. 3.39.15 (vv. 947-48)

948 πρέψας Stob.

949-54

- 950 νεβρὸν ὑπὲξ ἐλάφοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκὴ πεποιθὼς
ποσσὶ καταμάρψας αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον·
τειχέων δ' ὑψηλῶν ἐπιβὰς πόλιν οὐκ ἀλάπαξα·
ζευξάμενος δ' ἵππους ἄρματος οὐκ ἐπέβην·
πρήξας δ' οὐκ ἔπρηξα, καὶ οὐκ ἐτέλεσσα
τελέσσας,
δρήσας δ' οὐκ ἔδρησ', ἥνυσσα δ' οὐκ ἀνύσας.

955-56

- 955 δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι δύω κακά· τῶν τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ
χηρώσει πολλῶν, καὶ χάρις οὐδεμία.

Stob. 2.46.12 (vv. 955-56)

955 δ' εὖ ρ 956 χήρωσις κτεάνων Stob.

THEOGNIS

945-46

I'll go along a path as straight as a rule, veering to neither side. For all my thoughts must be fitting.

947-48

I will adorn my homeland, a shining city, neither turning it over to the populace nor giving in to unjust men.¹

¹ Some editors combine with the previous couplet and some assign them to Solon. Both language and thought are similar to passages in Solon.

949-54

Like a lion trusting in its might, I snatched a fawn from the doe with my claws, and did not drink its blood; I scaled the city's high walls, and did not sack it; I yoked a team, and did not mount the chariot; I have done, and not done; completed, and not completed; performed, and not performed; accomplished, and not accomplished.¹

¹ 949-50 also appear as 1278cd, where the compiler must have judged the imagery to be erotic, and some assume that the whole segment describes one who had the object of his affection within his control, but did nothing about it. The four verbs in 953-54 are essentially synonyms.

955-56

If you do the base a good turn two blows await you; you will lose much of what you have and you'll get no gratitude.

ELEGIAC POETRY

957-58

εἴ τι παθὼν ἀπ' ἐμεῦ ἀγαθὸν μέγα μὴ χάριν
οἶδας,
χρήζων ἡμετέρους αὖθις ἵκοιο δόμους.

957 ὑπ' van Herwerden

959-62

960 ἔστε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπινον ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου,
ἡδύ τί μοι ἐδόκει καὶ καλὸν ἦμεν ὕδωρ·
νῦν δ' ἤδη τεθόλωται, ὕδωρ δ' ἀναμίσγεται ὕδει·
ἄλλης δὲ κρήνης πίομαι ἢ ποταμοῦ.

960 ημεν A, εἶμεν O, ἔμεν I, ἔμμεν Hermann 961 ἰλυῖ vel
ὑλη Ahrens, ὕλει noluit Bergk, οὔδει idem quondam

963-70

μήποτ' ἐπαινέσης, πρὶν ἂν εἰδῆς ἄνδρα
σαφηνέως,
ὀργὴν καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ τρόπον ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.
965 πολλοί τοι κίβδηλον ἐπὶ κλοπὸν ἦθος ἔχοντες
κρύπτουσ', ἐνθέμενοι θυμὸν ἐφημέριον·
τούτων δ' ἐκφαίνει πάντως χρόνος ἦθος ἐκάστου.
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν γνώμης πολλὸν ἄρ' ἐκτὸς ἔβην·
ἔφθην αἰνήσας πρὶν σοῦ κατὰ πάντα δαῆναι
970 ἦθεα· νῦν δ' ἤδη νηῦς ἄθ' ἐκὰς διέχω.

Stob. 3.1.65 (vv. 963-68)

Floril. Monac. 107 = Orion *anth.* 8.11a (p. 92 Schneidewin),
v. 963

THEOGNIS

957-58

If you have received some great benefit from me and are not grateful, may it be in need that you come again to my house.

959-62

As long as I was drinking by myself from the spring's dark water, it seemed sweet and good to me. But now it's become dirty and water is mixed with water. I'll drink from another spring rather than a river.¹

¹ The imagery seems to be erotic, with 'spring' standing for a faithful lover and 'river' for one who is promiscuous.

963-70

Never praise a man until you know clearly what he is in temperament, disposition, and way of life. Many indeed have a false, thievish character and keep it hidden, taking on an attitude appropriate to the day. But time assuredly reveals the character of each of them. In fact I myself went far astray in my judgement. I praised you too soon, before I knew all your ways; but now I keep a wide berth like a ship.

963 σαφηνέως Floril., σαφηνῶς codd., ἄνδρας ἀφανέως Stob., σῶφρονα Orion 964 θυμὸν pro ῥυθμὸν Stob. ὄντιν' ἔχει Stob. 967 πάντως Vat. gr. 63, πάντων Ao 969 ἔφθην δ' ο 970 ναῦς ο

ELEGIAC POETRY

971-72

τίς δ' ἀρετὴν πίνοντ' ἐπιοίνιον ἄθλον ἐλέσθαι;
πολλάκι τοι νικᾷ καὶ κακὸς ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

973-78

οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων, ὃν πρῶτ' ἐπὶ γαῖα καλύψῃ
εἷς τ' ἔρεβος καταβῇ, δώματα Περσεφόνης,
975 τέρπεται οὔτε λύρης οὔτ' αὐλητῆρος ἀκούων
οὔτε Διωνύσου δῶρ' ἐπαιρόμενος.
ταῦτ' ἐσορῶν κραδίη εὖ πείσομαι, ὅφρα τ'
ἐλαφρὰ
γούνατα, καὶ κεφαλὴν ἀτρεμέως προφέρω.

973 ὃν ἐπεὶ ποτε *p* καλύψῃ Harl. 6301, -ει Aο
974 δῶμά τε XD, δώματά τε I 976 ἐπ- Diehl, ἐσ- codd.
-όμενος D¹, -άμενος Aο 977 κραδίη ο, -ην A ὅφρ' ἔτ'
Schneidewin (cf. 984) 978 ἀτρομέων *p*

979-82

μή μοι ἀνὴρ εἶη γλώσση φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργω·
980 χερσὶν τε σπεύδοι χρήμασί τ', ἀμφότερα·
μηδὲ παρὰ κρητῆρι λόγοισιν ἐμὴν φρένα θέλγοι,
ἀλλ' ἔρδων φαίνοιτ', εἴ τι δύναιτ', ἀγαθός.

Floril. Monac. 147 (v. 979)

980 σπεύδοι XD, -ει OI, -ου A ῥήμασί Matthiae
981 κρητῆρι I, κλητῆρι A, κρατῆρσι O, κρητῆρσι XD τέρποι
ο, θέλγοις A, corr. Bekker 982 ἀγαθόν codd., corr. Edmonds

THEOGNIS

971-72

What's the merit in gaining a wine-drinking prize?
Often in fact a base man wins over one who is noble.

973-78

No man, once the earth has covered him and he
has gone down into the darkness, the home of
Persephone, has the pleasure of listening to lyre or
piper or of raising to his lips the gift of Dionysus. In
view of this, I'll give my heart a good time, while my
knees are nimble and my head does not shake.

979-82

Let me have a man who is my friend in deed, not in
words. Let him exert himself (for me) both with
hands and possessions.¹ Let him not beguile me
with words beside the mixing bowl, but let him show
himself to be a man of worth by his actions, if he can.

¹ I.e., let him give me physical and monetary support.

ELEGIAC POETRY

983-88

985 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν θαλίῃσι φίλον καταθώμεθα θυμόν,
 ὄφρ' ἔτι τερπωλῆς ἔργ' ἐρατεινὰ φέρη.
 αἶψα γὰρ ὥστε νόημα παρέρχεται ἀγλαὸς ἤβη·
 οὐδ' ἵππων ὀρμὴ γίνεται ὠκυτέρη,
 αἶ τε ἄνακτα φέρουσι δορυσσόον ἐς πόνον ἀνδρῶν
 λάβρως, πυροφόρῳ τερπόμεναι πεδίῳ.

983 θαλίεσσι A, θαλίαισι O

984 παρῇ Lavagnini

989-90

990 πῖν' ὁπότεαν πίνωσιν· ὅταν δέ τι θυμόν ἀσηθῆς,
 μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων γνῶ σε βαρυνόμενον.

989 δ' ἔτι A, τοι ο, corr. Brunck

991-92

ἄλλοτέ τοι πάσχων ἀνιήσεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἔρδων
 χαιρήσεις· δύναται δ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἀνὴρ.

991 θ' O, τ' p
 χαιρήσει West
 corr. Bergk

992 χαιρηῖσι A, -ήσιν ο, corr. Erkema,
 δύναται ἄλλοτέ τ' ο, δύναται ἄλλοτε δ' A,

993-1002

995 εἰ θεΐης, Ἀκάδημε, ἐφίμερον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεν,
 ἄθλον δ' ἐν μέσσω παῖς καλὸν ἄνθος ἔχων
 σοί τ' εἶη καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφίης πέρι δηρισάντοιν,
 γνοίης χ' ὅσσον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι.
 τῆμος δ' ἠέλιος μὲν ἐν αἰθέρι μώνυχας ἵππους
 ἄρτι παραγγέλλοι μέσσατον ἡμαρ ἔχων,

THEOGNIS

983-88

Let us give up our hearts to festivity, while they can still sustain pleasure's lovely activities. For the splendour of youth passes by as quickly as a thought. Not so swift are charging horses which, delighting in the wheat-bearing plain, carry their spear-wielding master furiously to the battle toil of men.

989-90

Drink when they are drinking, but when you are sick at heart, let no one know that you are distressed.

991-92

Sometimes you'll be distressed at what is done to you, sometimes you'll rejoice at what you do. A man's power is never constant.

993-1002¹

If you were to set a prize, Academus,² for the singing of a lovely song, and if a boy with the fair bloom of youth were the prize for you and me as we compete in artistry, you would know how superior mules are to asses.³ Then the sun in the sky would be urging on his whole-hooved steeds right at midday, we would

ELEGIAC POETRY

1000 δείπνου δὲ λήγοιμεν, ὅπου τινὰ θυμὸς ἀνώγοι,
 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι,
 χέρνιβα δ' αἶψα θύραζε φέροι, στεφανώματα δ'
 εἴσω,
 εὐειδῆς ῥαδιναῖς χερσὶ Λάκαινα κόρη.

Ath. 7.310ab (vv. 993-96 et 997-1002)

993 εἴτ' εἷσακαλὴν μὲν Ath. ἐφήμερον A, -ριον O
 994 καλὸς Ath. 995 δηρησάντων ο, δηρισάντων AO,
 δηριόωσι Ath. 996 τ' A, θ' O 997 ἥμος p
 998 πάραντ' ἐλάοι West (ἐλάοι iam Harrison) 999 τε p, δὴ
 Ath. ὅσου Ath. ἀνώγει ο 1001 φέρει et δήσοι ο
 1002 ῥαδινηῆς Ath.

1003-1006

1005 ἥδ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
 κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ,
 ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόληί τε παντί τε δήμῳ,
 ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένη.

Tyrt. fr. 12.13-16 (vv. 1003-1006)

1004 ἀνδρὶ νέῳ Tyrt. 1006 μένη Stob. in Tyrt., μένει A,
 -ν ἐνι ο

1007-12

1010 ξυνὸν δ' ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήσομαι, ὅφρα τις ἥβης
 ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχων καὶ φρεσὶν ἐσθλὰ νοῇ,
 τῶν αὐτοῦ κτεάνων εὖ πασχέμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνηβᾶν
 δις πέλεται πρὸς θεῶν, οὐδὲ λύσις θανάτου

THEOGNIS

be finishing our meal, after gratifying our bellies with all sorts of good dishes as everyone's heart bids him, and a comely Spartan girl with slender hands would quickly carry out the washbasin and bring in garlands.

¹ Only West and Young combine these verses, whereas others, perhaps rightly, divide after 996. ² Person unknown.

³ The point of this is obscure.

1003-1006

This is excellence, this the best human prize and the fairest for a man to win. This is a common benefit for the state and all the people, whenever a man with firm stance holds his ground among the front ranks.¹

¹ Identical to Tyrtaeus fr. 12.13-16 except for one word.

1007-12

I shall give advice for all the world: so long as one has youth's splendid bloom and noble thoughts, let him enjoy his possessions. For it is impossible to obtain a second youth from the gods and there is no

ELEGIAC POETRY

θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἐλέγχει
οὐλόμενον, κεφαλῆς δ' ἄπτεται ἀκροτάτης.

1007 ἡβᾶ Bergk

1008 ἔχη Marc. 317 in ras.

1013-16

1015 ᾧ μάκαρ εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἄπειρος
ἄθλων εἰς Ἀΐδου δῶμα μέλαν κατέβη,
πρίν τ' ἐχθροὺς πτῆξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναί περ ἀνάγκη
ἐξετάσαι τε φίλους ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

1013 α A, ὡς ο
1016 δε A

1014 καταβῆ O

1015 γ' Bekker

1017-22

1020 αὐτίκα μοι κατὰ μὲν χροιὴν ῥέει ἄσπετος ἰδρώς,
πτοιῶμαι δ' ἐσορῶν ἄνθος ὀμηλικίης
τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν· ἐπὶ πλέον ὥφελεν εἶναι
ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον γίνεται ὥσπερ ὄναρ
ἥβη τιμήεσσα· τὸ δ' οὐλόμενον καὶ ἄμορφον
αὐτίχ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γῆρας ὑπερκρέματα.

1018 πτοιούμαι ο
1020 ὀλιγοχρόνιος O
Mimn.

1019 ἐπεὶ Ao, ἐπὶ ed. Aldina

1021 ἀργαλέον pro οὐλόμενον

1022 γῆρας . . . αὐτίχ' Mimn.

1023-24

οὔποτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θήσω
δύσλοφον, οὐδ' εἴ μοι Τμῶλος ἔπεστι κάρη.

THEOGNIS

release from death for mortal men, but vile and accursed old age brings dishonour¹ and takes hold of the top of one's head.²

¹ Or perhaps "puts one to the test."
erence to grey hair.

² Presumably a ref-

1013-16

Ah, blessed, fortunate and happy is he who goes down to Hades' dark house without experiencing hardship and before he cowers in the face of enemies, transgresses under duress, and tests what is in the minds of his friends.

1017-22

Suddenly a copious sweat flows down over my skin and I am a-flutter when I behold my generation's delightful and fair bloom. Would that it lasted longer! But precious youth is like a fleeting dream; in no time accursed and hideous old age hangs over one's head.¹

¹1020-22 are a version of Mimnermus fr. 5.1-3. See n. 1 ad loc.

1023-24

I'll never place my neck beneath the galling yoke of my enemies, not even if Tmolus¹ is upon my head.

¹ A mountain in Lydia. This may, but need not, indicate that the author came from that general area.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1025-26

1025 δειλοί τοι κακότητι ματαιότεροι νόον εἰσίν,
τῶν δ' ἀγαθῶν αἰεὶ πρήξεις ἰθύτεραι.

1025 δειλοῖς et νόοι ο (γόοι D)

1027-28

ῥηϊδίη τοι πρήξεις ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακότητος,
τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ χαλεπή, Κύρνε, πέλει παλάμη.

1029-36

1030 τόλμα, θυμέ, κακοῖσιν ὅμως ἄτλητα πεπονθώς·
δειλῶν τοι κραδίη γίνεται ὀξυτέρη.
μηδὲ σύ γ' ἀπρήκτοισιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἄλγος ἀέξων
αὔχει μηδ' αἴσχεα· μηδὲ φίλους ἀνία,
μηδ' ἐχθροὺς εὐφραίνει. θεῶν δ' εἰμαρμένα δῶρα
οὐκ ἂν ῥηϊδίως θνητὸς ἀνὴρ προφύγοι,
1035 οὔτ' ἂν πορφυρέης καταδὺς ἐς πυθμένα λίμνης,
οὔθ' ὅταν αὐτὸν ἔχῃ Τάρταρος ἡερόεις.

Stob. 4.56.9 (vv. 1029-34)

1031 γ' p et Stob., τ' AD 1032 αὔχει Stob., ἔχθει codd.,
ὄχθει Emperius, alii alia αἴσχεα Stob., ἄχθει ο (-ουρ), εχθει A

1037-38

ἄνδρα τοί ἐστ' ἀγαθὸν χαλεπώτατον ἐξαπατῆσαι,
ὥς ἐν ἐμοὶ γνώμη, Κύρνε, πάλαι κέκριται.

THEOGNIS

1025-26

The base are more empty-headed in bad times,¹ whereas the actions of the noble are by comparison always straightforward.

¹ Or "because of their baseness."

1027-28

It's easy, Cynus, for men to act badly, but the ability to achieve what is good is difficult.

1029-36

Bear up under misfortunes, my soul, even though you suffer things unbearable. A heart that is too quick to show its emotions is assuredly a mark of the base.¹ And don't add to your grief and shame by boasting of deeds that can't be done.² Don't be a source of pain to your friends and joy to your enemies. No mortal man can easily avoid the destined gifts of the gods, either by diving to the bottom of the turbulent sea or when misty Tartarus seizes him.

¹ Cf. 366.

² Text and translation uncertain.

1037-38

It is assuredly extremely difficult to deceive a noble man, a judgement I formed long ago, Cynus.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1038ab

ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ λώιον ἦδη,
οὐνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ χάρις.

1038a ἦδέα codd., expl. Camerarius

1039-40

1040 ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι, οἵτινες οἶνον
μὴ πίνουσ' ἄστρον καὶ κυνὸς ἀρχομένου.

1040 πίνωσ' Par. 2833 ἔρχομένου O

1041-42

δεῦρο σὺν αὐλητῇρι· παρὰ κλαίοντι γελῶντες
πίνωμεν, κείνου κήδεσι τερπόμενοι.

1043-44

εὐδωμεν· φυλακὴ δὲ πόλεως φυλάκεσσι μελήσει
ἀστυφέλῃς ἐρατῆς πατρίδος ἡμετέρης.

1043 πόλεως A

1045-46

1045 ναὶ μὰ Δί', εἴ τις τῶνδε καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένος εὔδει,
ἡμέτερον κῶμον δέξεται ἀρπαλέως.

1047-48

νῦν μὲν πίνοντες τερπώμεθα, καλὰ λέγοντες·
ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῖσι μέλει.

THEOGNIS

1038ab (= 853-54)

I knew it before, but I know it much better now, that
the base have no gratitude.

1039-40

Witless and foolish are men¹ who do not drink wine
when the season of the Dog Star² commences.

¹ Cf. 1069. ² Sirius, Orion's dog, at whose rising in late
July heat and thirst are most intense. Cf. Hes. *Opera* 582-88 and
Alcaeus' adaptation (fr. 347).

1041-42

Come here with a piper. Let's laugh and drink at the
weeper's side, rejoicing in his woes.

1043-44

Let's sleep. The guarding of the city, our fertile¹ and
lovely homeland, will be in the care of its guards.

¹ The first word of 1044 is rare and of uncertain meaning. Its
literal meaning seems to be 'not rugged' and so perhaps 'fertile.'

1045-46

By Zeus, even if one of these is wrapped up and
asleep, he'll gladly welcome us merry-makers.

1047-48

Now let's delight in drink and fine talk. What will
happen afterwards is up to the gods.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1049-54

- 1050 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οἶά τε παιδὶ πατὴρ ὑποθήσομαι αὐτὸς
 ἐσθλά· σὺ δ' ἐν θυμῷ καὶ φρεσὶ ταῦτα βάλεν.
 μήποτ' ἐπειγόμενος πράξης κακόν, ἀλλὰ βαθείη
 σῇ φρενὶ βούλευσαι σῷ ἀγαθῷ τε νόῳ.
 τῶν γὰρ μαινομένων πέτεται θυμός τε νόος τε,
 βουλή δ' εἰς ἀγαθὸν καὶ νόον ἐσθλὸν ἄγει.

1049 δέτω A, δέ ο (δέ γε I), corr. Bergk πατὴρ om. ο
 (φίλῳ ρ) 1050 βάλε ο 1051 πρήξης ρ
 1052 σωτ' A 1053 μαρναμένων μάχεται ο

1055-58

- 1055 ἀλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον ἐάσομεν, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ
 αὔλει, καὶ Μουσῶν μνησόμεθ' ἀμφότεροι·
 αὐταὶ γὰρ τάδ' ἔδωκαν ἔχειν κεχαρισμένα δῶρα
 σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, <μέλο>μεν δ' ἀμφιπερικτίοσιν.

1055 ἐάσομαι ο 1058 μενδ' A, μὲν ο (νῦν O, μὴν D,
 μην I), suppl. Hiller (μελέμεν iam Ahrens): alii alia

1059-62

- 1060 Τιμαγόρα, πολλῶν ὀργὴν ἀπάτερθεν ὀρῶντι
 γινώσκειν χαλεπόν, καίπερ εἰσὶν σοφῷ.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ κακότητα κατακρύψαντες ἔχουσιν
 πλούτῳ, τοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν οὐλομένη πενίῃ.

Stob. 4.33.9 (vv. 1061-62)

1059 τιμᾶ γὰρ ἀπόλλων fere codd., corr. Camerarius

THEOGNIS

1049-54

I shall personally give you good advice, as a father to a son. Put this in your heart and mind. Never make a mistake through haste, but plan in the depths of your heart and with your good sense. The heart and mind of madmen are flighty, but planning leads to benefit and to good sense.¹

¹ Or "leads even a good mind to what is beneficial."

1055-58

But let us be done with this talk; play the pipe for me and let us both pay heed to the Muses. For it is they who have given you and me these charming gifts and we are well known to those who live round about.

1059-62

Timagoras,¹ it's difficult, even for one who is skilled, to know the disposition of many by looking from a distance. For some keep their baseness concealed by wealth and others their merit by accursed poverty.

¹ Identity unknown.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1063-68

ἐν δ' ἤβῃ πάρα μὲν ξὺν ὁμήλικι πάννυχον εὔδειν,
ἱμερτῶν ἔργων ἔξ ἔρον ἰέμενον·

1065 ἔστι δὲ κωμάζοντα μετ' αὐλητῆρος αἰεῖδειν·
τούτων οὐδὲν τιτ' ἄλλ' ἐπιτερπνότερον
ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί. τί μοι πλούτός τε καὶ αἰδώς;
τερπωλὴ νικᾷ πάντα σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ.

1063 πάννυχον A, κάλλιστον O, κάλλιον p 1066 τι O,
τοι p, om. A: ἄρ' ἦν Bergk, alii alia

1069-70

1070 ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι, οἳ τε θανόντας
κλαίουσ', οὐδ' ἤβης ἄνθος ἀπολλύμενον.

1070ab

τέρπεό μοι, φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι
ἔσονται
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι.

1070a ἄν ο ἔσονται p

1071-74

Κύρνε, φίλους πρὸς πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον
ἦθος,
συμμίσγων ὀργὴν οἷος ἕκαστος ἔφν.
νῦν μὲν τῷδ' ἐφέπου, τότε δ' ἄλλοῖος πέλεν ὀργήν.
κρεῖσσόν τοι σοφίῃ καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.

1074 κρεῖσσων ο

THEOGNIS

1063-68

In youth you are free to sleep all night with an age-mate and satisfy your craving for lovemaking; you may carouse and sing with a piper. No other pleasure compares with these for men and women. What are wealth and respect to me? Pleasure combined with good cheer surpasses everything.

1069-70

Witless and foolish are men¹ who weep for the dead, but not for the fading bloom of youth.

¹ Cf. 1039.

1070ab

Enjoy yourself, my dear heart; soon it will be the turn of other men, and I'll be dead and become dark earth.¹

¹ Identical to 877-78 except for the first word.

1071-74

Cyrnus, toward all your friends keep turning a versatile disposition, mingling with it a mood according to the nature of each. Now follow along in this direction, now take on a different mood. Cleverness is in truth superior even to great merit.¹

¹ These are variations on 213-14 and 217-18. West treats the couplets as separate.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1075-78

- 1075 *πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι τελευτήν
 γνῶναι, ὅπως μέλλει τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσαι·
 ὄρφνη γὰρ τέταται, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι
 οὐ ξυνετὰ θνητοῖς πείρατ' ἀμηχανίης.*

1079-80

- 1080 *οὐδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μωμήσομαι ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα,
 οὐδὲ μὲν αἰνήσω δειλὸν ἐόντα φίλον.*

1081-82b

*Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἦδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα
 ὕβριστήν, χαλεπῆς ἡγεμόνα στάσιος·
 ἄστοι μὲν γὰρ ἔθ' οἶδε σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ
 τετράφεται πολλήν εἰς κακότητα πεσεῖν*

1081 τέκοι Αο, η sscr. I

1082a ἔθ' οἶδε Α, ἔασι ο

1082cf-84

- c *μή μ' ἔπесιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας
 ἄλλας,*
 d *εἷ με φιλεῖς καί σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος,*
 e *ἀλλὰ φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἥ μ' ἀποειπὼν*
 f *ἔχθαιρ' ἐμφανέως νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.
 οὕτω χρή τόν γ' ἐσθλὸν ἐπιστρέψαντα νόημα
 ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχειν ἐς τέλος ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ.*

1082c ἄλλη ο (ut 87)

1082e ἥ με φίλει ο (ut 89)

1082f ἀμφαδίην ο (ut 90)

THEOGNIS

1075-78

It is very difficult to know how the god is going to bring about the outcome of an action uncompleted. For darkness extends over it, and in advance of what is going to occur mortals cannot comprehend the limits of their helplessness.

1079-80

I'll not find fault with any of my enemies whose behaviour is noble, nor will I praise a friend whose behaviour is base.

1081-82b

Cyrnus, this city is pregnant and I am afraid she will give birth to a man who commits wanton outrage, a leader of grievous strife. These townsmen are still of sound mind, but their leaders have changed and fallen into the depths of depravity.¹

¹ Identical to 39-42 except for 1082.

1082cf-84

Don't show affection for me in your words, but keep a different mind and heart, if you love me and the mind within you is loyal. But love me sincerely or renounce me, hate me, and quarrel openly. In this way one who is noble should direct his thoughts and hold them ever steadfast to the end for a man who is his friend.¹

¹ 1082cf are identical to 87-90, with three minor variations.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1085-86

- 1085 Δημῶναξ, σὺ δὲ πολλὰ φέρειν βαρύς· οὐ γὰρ
ἐπίσθη
τοῦτ' ἔρδειν ὅτι σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ᾔ.

1085 Δημῶναξ σὺ δὲ Bergk (σοὶ Welcker, εἰ Boissonade),
δημωναξιοιδε Α, δῆμον δ' ἀξιοῖ ο βαρυ Α

1087-90

- Κάστορ καὶ Πολύδευκες, οἳ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δῖη
ναίειτ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτῃ καλλιρόῳ ποταμῷ,
εἴ ποτε βουλεύσαιμι φίλῳ κακόν, αὐτὸς ἔχοιμι·
1090 εἰ δέ τι κείνος ἐμοί, δῖς τόσον αὐτὸς ἔχοι.

1088 Εὐρώτα praeferunt multi, cl. 785

1091-94

ἀργαλέως μοι θυμὸς ἔχει περὶ σῆς φιλότητος·
οὔτε γὰρ ἐχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν δύναμαι,
γινώσκων χαλεπὸν μὲν ὅταν φίλος ἀνδρὶ γένηται
ἐχθαίρειν, χαλεπὸν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φιλεῖν.

1095-96

- 1095 σκέπτεο δὴ νῦν ἄλλον· ἐμοί γε μὲν οὐ τις ἀνάγκη
τοῦτ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο.

THEOGNIS

1085-86

Demonax,¹ you're often hard to stand, since you don't know how to do what is displeasing to you.

¹ Identity unknown.

1087-90

Castor and Polydeuces, you who dwell in glorious Lacedaemon by the fair-flowing river Eurotas, if I ever plot harm to a friend, may I have it myself; and if he plots harm to me, may he have twice as much himself.

1091-94

My heart is in turmoil with regard to your friendship, since I can neither hate nor love you,¹ realizing that it is difficult to hate, when a man has a friend, and difficult to love when he is unwilling (to love you).

¹ Cf. 874.

1095-96

Look now for someone else; I, however, am under no obligation to do this.¹ Be grateful for what I've done before.²

¹ It is unclear what the speaker is not obliged to do.

² Identical to 1160ab, except for the beginning and the variation *τοῦτ' - ταῦτ'*.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1097-1100

ἤδη καὶ πτερύγεσσιν ἐπαίρομαι ὥστε πετεινὸν
ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, ἄνδρα κακὸν προφυγών,
βρόχον ἀπορρήξας· σὺ δ' ἐμῆς φιλότητος
ἁμαρτῶν

1100 ὕστερον ἡμετέρεην γνώση ἐπιφροσύνην.

1098 προφυγόν ο
West)

1099 βρόκχον Schaefer (prob.

1101-1102

ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι, καί σ' ἐκέλευσεν
οἷχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρεην φιλίην . . .

1103-1104

ὕβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα
καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως, Κύρνε, καὶ ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

1104 ὕμμας ὀλεῖ ο, ἄμμ' Welcker (cf. 40)

1104ab

δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα, πείρα δ'
ἄριστον·
πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν.

1104b ἀγαθοί A

THEOGNIS

1097-1100

Now I rise up on my wings like a bird from a large¹ lake which escapes from an evil man by breaking its noose.² You have lost my friendship and later you'll recognize my shrewdness.

¹ The epithet seems pointless and various emendations, none convincing, have been proposed. ² The scene envisaged by the poet is unclear. For one explanation see West, *Studies* 162.

1101-1102

Whoever gave you advice about me and told you to abandon my friendship and go . . .¹

¹ 1101-1102 = 1278ab where the relative clause is similarly left without an apodosis. West inserts 539-40 after 1102, but there are many other possibilities.

1103-1104

Lawlessness destroyed Magnesia, Colophon, and Smyrna;¹ it will assuredly destroy you people too, Cynus.

¹ For the destruction of these cities see West, *Studies* 66-67, although his dating of the couplet to the period 650-600 does not seem justified. For Magnesia see also 603.

1104ab

(Mere) reputation is a great evil for men; trial is best. Many who have not been tested have a reputation for merit.¹

¹ Identical to 571-72. See n. 1 ad loc.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1105-1106

1105 εἰς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε
 μολύβδῳ
 χρυσὸς ἄπεφθός ἐὼν καλὸς ἅπασιν ἔσῃ.

1105 μολίβδῳ Aο, corr. Par. 2883
 καλὸς Ahrens

1106 δῆλος pro

1107-1108

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός· καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν ἐχθροῖς,
 τοῖς δὲ φίλοισι πόνος δειλὰ παθὼν γενόμεν.

1107 οἷμοι A

1108 φίλοις ὁ πόνος A

δεινὰ I

1109-14

1110 Κύρν', οἱ πρόσθ' ἀγαθοὶ νῦν αὖ κακοί, οἱ δὲ
 κακοὶ πρὶν
 νῦν ἀγαθοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν,
 τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς μὲν ἀτιμοτέρους, κακίους δὲ
 λαχόντας
 τιμῆς; μνηστεύει δ' ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ·
 ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶσιν,
 οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν μνήμην εἰδότες οὔτε κακῶν.

1114 γνώμην Hecker ex 60

1114ab

πολλὰ δ' ἀμηχανίῃσι κυλίνδομαι ἀχνύμενος κῆρ·
 ἀρχὴν γὰρ πενίης οὐχ ὑπερεδράμομεν.

THEOGNIS

1105-1106

If (when?) you come to the touchstone and being rubbed beside lead are refined gold,¹ you will be noble in the eyes of all.

¹ Cf. 417-18 with n. 2 ad loc. Many editors combine this couplet with the preceding one.

1107-1108¹

O wretch that I am! Because of my wretched suffering I have become a joy to my enemies and a burden to my friends.

¹ Virtually identical to 1318ab.

1109-14

Cyrnus, those who were formerly noble are now base, and those who were base before are now noble. Who can endure the sight of this, the noble dishonoured and the base honoured? A man who is noble seeks marriage with the daughter of one who is base. They deceive one another and mock one another, with no recollection of what is noble or base.¹

¹ 1109-10 is a variation on 57-58 and 1113-14 on 59-60. For 1112 cf. 189-90.

1114ab

Often I toss about in helplessness, distressed at heart, for I have not run beyond the beginning of poverty.¹

¹ Cf. 619-20 where *ἄκρην* is in place of *ἀρχήν*. The latter may be simply an error (it can hardly mean 'rule' here, as some maintain).

ELEGIAC POETRY

1115-16

1115 χρήματ' ἔχων πενίην μ' ὠνείδισας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν μοι
ἔστι, τὰ δ' ἐργάσομαι θεοῖσιν ἐπευξάμενος.

1115 μοι ὠνείδισας Emperius τὰ μέν μοι p, τὰ μέντοι O,
τεμεμοι A

1117-18

Πλούτε, θεῶν κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων,
σὺν τοῖ καὶ κακὸς ὢν γίνεται ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

1118 γίγνομαι p

1119-22

1120 ἥβης μέτρον ἔχοιμι, φιλοῖ δέ με Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Λητοίδης καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,
ὄφρα δίκη ζῶοιμι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων,
ἥβη καὶ πλούτῳ θυμὸν ἱαινόμενος.

1121 δικηι A, βίον o (δεινδε σώοιμι I)

1123-28

μή με κακῶν μίμνησκε· πέπονθά τοι οἶά τ'
Ὀδυσσεύς,
ὅς τ' Ἀΐδεω μέγα δῶμ' ἤλυθεν ἐξαναδύς.
1125 ὅς δὴ καὶ μνηστῆρας ἀνείλετο νηλεί θυμῷ
Πηνελόπης εὖφρων κουριδίας ἀλόχου,
ἥ μιν δὴθ' ὑπέμεινε φίλῳ παρὰ παιδὶ μένουσα,
ὄφρα τε γῆς ἐπέβη †δειμαλέους γε μυχοῦς†.

1123 μέμνησθε o 1124 αἶδου o 1125 ἀνείλατο A
χαλκῶ o 1126 ἔμφρων o 1127 ἡ μὲν o πρὸς o

THEOGNIS

1115-16

Because you're rich you throw up to me my poverty.
But I have some things and other things I'll earn,
through my prayers to the gods.

1117-18

Wealth, fairest and most desirable of all the gods,
thanks to you even a man who is base becomes
noble.

1119-22

May I have my full measure of youth and may Leto's
son, Phoebus Apollo, and Zeus, king of the immor-
tals, love me, so that I may live righteously, free of
all misfortunes, with youth and wealth to warm my
heart.

1123-28

Don't remind me of my misfortunes. My trials have
been like those of Odysseus who returned, com-
ing up from Hades' great house. With pitiless heart
he joyfully slew the suitors of his wedded wife
Penelope who had long awaited him, remaining at
the side of her dear son, until he set foot on his land
(?) . . .¹

¹ It is unclear whether γῆς depends on the verb or on what follows and whether ὅφρα means 'until' or 'while.' If it means the latter, an imperfect would be more natural. Many assume that the poem is incomplete.

1128 δειλαλεουστέ A, δειμαλέους γε ο, δείν' αλίους τε Sitzler,
alii alia

ELEGIAC POETRY

1129-32

1130 ἔμπιόμαι· πενίης θυμοφθόρου οὐ μελεδαίνω,
οὐδ' ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν οἷ με λέγουσι κακῶς.
ἀλλ' ἤβην ἐρατὴν ὀλοφύρομαι, ἥ μ' ἐπιλείπει,
κλαίω δ' ἀργαλέον γήρας ἐπερχόμενον.

Stob. 4.50.43 (vv. 1129-32)

1129 ἐλπίομαι O, εἰ πίομαι p, οὔτε γε μὴν Stob. (om. ου)
μελεδαίνων A

1133-34

Κύρνε, παροῦσι φίλοισι κακοῦ καταπαύσομεν
ἀρχήν,
ζητῶμεν δ' ἔλκει φάρμακα φυομένῳ.

1135-50

1135 Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνη θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν,
ἄλλοι δ' Οὐλύμπον ἐκπρολιπόντες ἔβαν.
ᾧχετο μὲν Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός, ᾧχετο δ' ἀνδρῶν
Σωφροσύνη, Χάριτές τ', ᾧ φίλε, γῆν ἔλιπον·
ὅρκοι δ' οὐκέτι πιστοὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι,
1140 οὐδὲ θεοὺς οὐδεὶς ἄζεται ἀθανάτους,
εὐσεβέων δ' ἀνδρῶν γένος ἔφθιτο, οὐδὲ θέμιστας
οὐκέτι γινώσκουσ' οὐδὲ μὲν εὐσεβίας.
ἀλλ' ὅφρα τις ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ἡέλιοιο,
εὐσεβέων περὶ θεοὺς Ἐλπίδα προσμενέτω·
1145 εὐχέσθω δὲ θεοῖσι, καὶ ἀγλαὰ μηρία καίων
Ἐλπίδι τε πρώτῃ καὶ πυμάτῃ θυέτω.

THEOGNIS

1129-32

I'll drink my fill, without a thought for soul-destroying poverty or enemies who speak ill of me. But I bewail the lovely youth that is leaving me and weep at the approach of grim old age.

1133-34

Cyrnus, with the friends we have let us check the evil at its beginning, and let us seek a remedy for the ulcer that is growing.

1135-50

Hope is the only good god remaining among mankind; the others have left and gone to Olympus. Trust, a mighty god, has gone, Restraint has gone from men, and the Graces, my friend, have abandoned earth. Men's judicial oaths are no longer to be trusted, nor does anyone revere the immortal gods; the race of pious men has perished and men no longer recognize established rules of conduct or acts of piety. But as long as a man lives and sees the light of the sun, let him show piety to the gods and count on Hope. Let him pray to the gods and burn splendid thigh bones, sacrificing to Hope first and last. And

ELEGIAC POETRY

1150 φραζέσθω δ' ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν σκολιὸν λόγον αἰεῖ,
οἷ θεῶν ἀθανάτων οὐδὲν ὀπιζόμενοι
αἰὲν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κτεάνοις ἐπέχουσι νόημα,
αἰσχροὶ κακοῖς ἔργοις σύμβολα θηκάμενοι.

Stob. 4.46.12 (v. 1135)

1135 ἀνθρώποις μούνη Stob. (sed μόνη cod. A)
1136 Οὐλυμπόν<δ'> Camerarius 1143 ζῶοι OI, ζώη D
φῶς A 1146 τιθέτω O 1148 μηδὲν ο

1151-52

μήποτε τὸν παρεόντα μεθεῖς φίλον ἄλλον ἐρεῦνα
δειλῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

Anth. Pal. 10.40; *Anecd. Par.* iv.374.13 Cramer (vv. 1151-52)

1151 παρὲς *Anth. Pal.*

1153-54

εἴη μοι πλουτοῦντι κακῶν ἀπάτερθε μεριμνέων
ζῶειν ἀβλαβέως μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.

Stob. 4.39.14 (vv. 1153-56)

1153 πλουτεῦντι Stob. μεριμνῶν ο, Stob.

1155-56

1155 οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν οὐδ' εὐχομαι, ἀλλὰ μοι εἴη
ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.

Anth. Pal. 10.113; *Basil. ad adulescentes* 9 (p. 58 Boulenger, p. 34 Wilson); *gnomol. Georgidis, Anecd. Gr.* i.67 Boissonade; imit.

THEOGNIS

let him ever be on guard against the crooked speech of unjust men who, with no regard for the immortal gods, always direct their thoughts to other people's property, making shameful compacts to further their evil deeds.

1151-52¹

Never forsake the friend you have and seek another, persuaded by what base men say to you.

¹ Identical to 1238ab.

1153-54

May I live without harm,¹ wealthy and free of evil cares, suffering no ill.

¹ Either 'without harm to myself' or 'without harm to others.' Probably the former here.

1155-56

I do not crave or pray for wealth, but may I live from modest means, suffering no ill.

Orac. Sib. 2.109-10; confuse schol. Luc. *apol.* 12 (p. 238.9 Rabe), v. 1155

1155 οὐκ ἐθέλω *Anth. Pal.* οὐτ' Basil., οὐκ *Anth. Pal.*
1156 ἐκ *Anth. Pal.*

ELEGIAC POETRY

1157-60

1160 <πλούτος καὶ σοφίη θνητοῖς ἀμαχώτατοι αἰεί·
οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πλούτου θυμὸν ὑπερκορέσαιο·>
ὥς δ' αὐτως σοφίην ὁ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἀποφεύγει,
ἀλλ' ἔραται, θυμὸν δ' οὐ δύναται τελέσαι.

Stob. 4.31.26 (1157-58 desunt in codd. Theogn.), vv. 1157-60

1157 ἀμαχώτατον Stob., corr. West 1160 κορέσαι
Stob.

1160ab

†ὦ νέοι οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες·† ἐμοί γε μὲν οὔ τις ἀνάγκη
ταῦτ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο.

1160a ὦνέο σοι νῦν ἄλλον West ex 1095

1161-62

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν καταθήσει ἀμείνω
αἰδοῦς, ἣν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, διδῶς.

Stob. 3.31.16 (vv. 1161-62)

1161 παισὶν καταθήσειν A, καταθήσειν παισὶν ο, κατα-
θήσεαι ἔνδον Stob. deinde ἄμεινον· αἰτοῦσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖς
ἀνδράσι Κύρνε δίδου codd., ἀμείνω αἰδοῦς, ἣν . . . διδῶς Stob.

THEOGNIS

1157-60

Wealth and cleverness¹ are ever most difficult for mortals to conquer; for you cannot glut your desire for wealth. Similarly the cleverest man does not shun (more) cleverness, but craves it and cannot satisfy his desire.

¹ Or "wisdom."

1160ab

. . .;¹ I, however, am under no obligation to do this. Be grateful for what I've done before.

¹ West's text at the beginning ("Make a bid now for someone else") makes the couplet almost identical to 1095-96 and is based on the assumption that the opening "had become partly illegible through damp or some other cause" (*Studies* 163). The pronoun *σοι*, however, is redundant with the middle and none of the attempts to correct the text is convincing.

1161-62

You will not leave your sons a better treasure than a sense of shame, if you give it to the noble, Cynus.¹

¹ The first half of the couplet repeats 409, but it is uncertain how closely the second half repeats 410. West follows Stobaeus, but the latter's text does not give very appropriate sense and may also be corrupt.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1162af

- a οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
 ἐσθλὸς
 b τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακὸν κοῦκ ἐπίδηλον ὅμως
 c δειλὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπίσταται οὔτε κακοῖσιν
 d θυμὸν ὁμῶς μίσγειν. ἀθανάτων τε δόσεις
 e παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'· ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾶν
 f χρὴ δῶρ' ἀθανάτων οἷα διδοῦσιν ἔχειν.

1162b ομῶς A

1162e ἐπέρχεται O

επιτόλμαν A

1163-64

ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ γλῶσσα καὶ οὔατα καὶ νόος ἀνδρῶν
 ἐν μέσσω στηθέων ἐν συνετοῖς φύεται.

Stob. 3.3.19 (vv. 1163-64)

1163 ἀνδρὸς Stob. 1164 εὐξύνετος Stob.

1164ad

- a τοιοῦτός τοι ἀνὴρ ἔστω φίλος, ὃς τὸν ἐταῖρον
 b γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει
 c ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 d φράζεο, καί ποτέ μου μνήσεται ἔξοπίσω.

1164eh

- e οὔτιν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὐρεῖν
 f πιστὸν ἐταῖρον, ὅτῳ μή τις ἔνεστι δόλος·

THEOGNIS

1162af

For no one is wholly prosperous in every respect. The noble man puts up with bad luck even when it doesn't show(?), but the base man does not know how to adapt(?) his emotions to good fortune and bad alike. The gifts of the immortals come to mortals in all forms, but we must endure to possess their gifts, whatever it is they give.¹

¹ Essentially identical to 441-46 except for 1162b and d.

1163-64

Among the intelligent eyes, tongue, ears, and mind are implanted in the middle of their breast.¹

¹ Translation uncertain. For attempts to explain the meaning and syntax see van Groningen *ad loc.*

1164ad

Let a friend be the sort of man who knows his comrade and, like a brother, puts up with his disposition even when he is hard to bear. Please take these things to heart, my friend, and one day hereafter you will remember me.¹

¹ Identical to 97-100 except for a slight change at the beginning.

1164eh

I can find none like myself in my search for a loyal comrade in whom there is no deceit. When I come

ELEGIAC POETRY

- g ἐς βάσανόν τ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε
 μολύβδῳ
 h χρυσός, ὑπερτερίας ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος.

1164eh om. p 1164g δ' O μολίβδῳ codd., corr. van
 Herwerden 1164h λόγος A, νόος O

1165-66

- 1165 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς σύμμισγε, κακοῖσι δὲ μήποθ'
 ὁμάρτει,
 εὖτ' ἂν ὁδοῦ στέλλῃ τέρματ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.

1166 ἔστ' West τελέης p, -οις O, στελεσι A, corr. Bergk
 τέρματ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην A τέρματά τ' ἐμπορίας ο, ἀπ' ἐμπορίας
 West (et τελέης)

1167-68

τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὴ μὲν ἀπόκρισις, ἐσθλὰ δὲ ἔργα·
 τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἄνεμοι δειλὰ φέρουσιν ἔπη.

1169-70

- 1170 ἐκ καχεταιρίας κακὰ γίνεται· εὖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 γνώσῃ, ἐπεὶ μεγάλους ἤλιτες ἀθανάτους.

1169 καχεταιρείης OXD 1170 μεγάλως Camerarius

1171-76

γνώμην, Κύρνε, θεοὶ θνητοῖσι διδοῦσιν ἀρίστην
 ἀνθρώποις· γνώμη πείρατα παντὸς ἔχει.
 ἂ μάκαρ, ὅστις δὴ μιν ἔχει φρεσὶν· ἧ πολὺ
 κρείστων

THEOGNIS

to the touchstone and am gold rubbed beside lead,
the balance of superiority is in me.¹

¹ A version of 415-18, but the alteration in 1164g results in hanging nominatives.

1165-66

Mingle with the noble and never accompany the
base, whenever you set out for your journey's goal
with a view to trade.

1167-68

Noble is the response of the noble and noble their
actions, but the base words of the base are carried
on the wind.

1169-70

From bad company bad things result. You'll know
that well yourself, since you have sinned against
mighty gods.

1171-76

Judgement, Cynus, is the best gift of the gods to
mortal men: judgement holds the key to every-
thing.¹ Blessed is he whose mind possesses it. In-

ELEGIAC POETRY

1175 ὕβριος οὐλομένης λευγαλέου τε κόρου
[ἐστί· κακὸν δὲ βροτοῖσι κόρος, τῶν οὐ τι κάκιον·]
πάσα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, Κύρνε, πέλει κακότης.

1171 ἄριστον Bekker 1172 ἄνθρωπος AO, ἀνθρώπου
p, corr. Bergk 1173 ἄ Naeke (cf. 1013), ὦ codd. (ὦ O)
ἦ A, ἐπεὶ ο 1176 τούτου Camerarius

1177-78

εἴ κ' εἴης ἔργων αἰσchrῶν ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἀεργός,
Κύρνε, μεγίστην κεν πείραν ἔχοις ἀρετῆς.

1178ab

τολμᾶν χρὴ χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἦτορ ἔχοντα,
πρὸς δὲ θεῶν αἰτεῖν ἔκλυσιν ἀθανάτων.

1178a ἐπ' O ἦπαρ O 1178b τε θεῶν δ' O

1179-80

1180 Κύρνε, θεοὺς αἰδοῦ καὶ δείδιθι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄνδρα
εἵργει μήτ' ἔρδειν μήτε λέγειν ἀσεβῆ.

Orion *anth.* 3.5 (p. 45 Schneidewin), vv. 1179-80

1180 μήτε παθεῖν Orion

1181-82

δημοφάγον δὲ τύραννον, ὅπως ἐθέλεις, κατακλῖναι·
οὐ νέμεσις πρὸς θεῶν γίνεται οὐδεμία.

1181 ἐθέλης O, sscr. I

THEOGNIS

deed it is much superior to accursed lawlessness or baneful excess. [Excess is harmful to mortals; there's nothing worse.]² For from these things, Cynus, comes every misery.

¹ Cf. Solon fr. 16. ² I agree with West (*Studies* 163-64) that "the line is a patchwork designed to replace a longer passage that led to 1176."

1177-78

If you should neither suffer nor commit shameful acts, Cynus, you would possess the greatest proof of merit.

1178ab

He whose heart is in dire distress must endure and ask the immortal gods for release.¹

¹ A variation on 555-56.

1179-80

Cynus, respect and fear the gods. For this restrains a man from impious deed or word.

1181-82

Lay low, by any means you wish, a tyrant who devours the people. The gods show no resentment.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1183-84b

οὐδένα, Κύρν', αὐγαὶ φαεσιμβρότου ἡλίοιο
 ἄνδρ' ἐφορῶσ' ᾧ μὴ μῶμος ἐπικρέμαται·
 1184a ἀστῶν δ' οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον ὄντιν' ἔχουσιν·
 οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς.

1183-84 om. XD, 1184ab om. p

1185-86

1185 νοῦς ἀγαθόν, καὶ γλῶσσα· τὰ δ' ἐν παύροισι
 πέφυκεν
 ἀνδράσιν οἷ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ταμίαι.

1185 ἀγαθὸς ο τ' codd., corr. Stephanus

1187-90

οὔτις ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν
 δυστυχίην, εἰ μὴ μοῖρ' ἐπὶ τέρμα βάλοι,
 οὐδ' ἂν δυσφροσύνας, ὅτε δὴ θεὸς ἄλγεα πέμπη,
 1190 θνητὸς ἀνὴρ δώροις βουλόμενος προφυγεῖν.

1188 δυστυχίαν ο 1189 πέμπει ο, -οι Bergk
 1190 οὐλομένας Matthiae προφύγη A, -οι Camerarius

1191-94

οὐκ ἔραμαι κλισμῷ βασιλῆϊ ἐγκατακεῖσθαι
 τεθνεώς, ἀλλὰ τί μοι ζῶντι γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν.
 ἀσπάθαλοι δὲ τάπησιν ὁμοῖον στρώμα θανόντι·
 τῷ ξυνόν, σκληρὸν γίνεται ἢ μαλακόν.

1194 τὸ ξύλον ἢ codd., corr. West: alii alia

THEOGNIS

1183-84b

Cyrnus, the rays of the sun that brings light to mortals look upon no man over whom blame does not hang; but I cannot understand the attitude the townsmen have, since neither by good actions nor by bad do I please them.¹

¹ The second couplet is a variation on 367-68. Some editors treat the couplets as separate.

1185-86

The mind is a good thing and so is the tongue; but they are found in few men who have control over both.

1187-90

No one can pay a ransom and avoid death or heavy misfortune,¹ if fate does not set a limit, nor, although he wish to, can a mortal avoid mental distress through bribery, when the god sends pain.

¹ Cf. Solon fr. 24.9-10.

1191-94

I do not crave to lie on a couch fit for a king when I'm dead; rather, may something good be mine while I'm alive. Thorns are as good a bed for the dead as rugs. It's all the same to him whether the bed is hard or soft.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1195-96

1195 μή τι θεοὺς ἐπίορκον ἐπόμενυθι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνεκτὸν
ἀθανάτους κρύψαι χρεῖος ὀφειλόμενον.

1195 μήτε ο επιορκος Α ἀνυστὸν Emperius

1197-1202

ὄρνιθος φωνήν, Πολυπαῖδῃ, ὅξυ βοώσης
ἤκουσ', ἥ τε βροτοῖς ἄγγελος ἦλθ' ἀρότου
ὠραίου· καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν,
1200 ὅττι μοι εὐανθεῖς ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀγρούς,
οὐδέ μοι ἡμίονοι κυφὸν ἔλκουσιν ἄροτρον
†τῆς ἄλλης μνηστῆς† εἵνεκα ναυτιλίας.

1198 ἀρότρου ο 1201 κύφων' . . . ἀρότρου ρ

1203-1206

οὐκ εἶμ', οὐδ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κεκλήσεται. οὐδ' ἐπὶ
τύμβῳ
οἰμωχθεῖς ὑπὸ γῆν εἴσι τύραννος ἀνὴρ,
1205 οὐδ' ἂν ἐκείνος ἐμοῦ τεθνηότος οὔτ' ἀνιῶτο
οὔτε κατὰ βλεφάρων θερμὰ βάλοι δάκρυα.

1204 ἐπὶ ο 1205 τεθνηιότος ΑΟΙ

1207-1208

οὔτε σε κωμάζειν ἀπερύκομεν οὔτε καλοῦμεν
ἀρπαλέος παρεών, καὶ φίλος εὖτ' ἂν ἀπῆς.

1207 ἀπερύκομαι οὔτε καλοῦμαι ο 1208 ἀργαλέος
codd., corr. Bergk γὰρ ἐών codd., corr. Camerarius

THEOGNIS

1195-96

Do not swear falsely by the gods; for to hide from the immortals a debt that is owed is not to be tolerated.

1197-1202

I heard the bird's¹ shrill cry, Polypaïdes, which comes to men as a messenger of the season for ploughing; and it struck my melancholy heart, since others possess my flowering fields and mules do not pull the curved plough for me . . . because of sea-faring.²

¹ I.e., the crane. Cf. Hes. *Opera* 448-50. ² The last verse is judged corrupt by most and none of the many emendations is persuasive. It seems likely that Theognis has lost his land because of a disastrous sea voyage.

1203-1206

I shan't go and he won't be invited by me.¹ A tyrant won't be mourned (by me) even at his tomb when he goes beneath the earth, any more than he would grieve or let warm tears fall from his eyes when I am dead.

¹ This seems to mean, 'I shall not go to his funeral nor will he be invited to mine.'

1207-1208

We neither exclude you from our revel nor do we invite you. You are welcome¹ when present and a friend when absent.

¹ If ἀργαλέος is retained, the meaning would be "you are troublesome" or "a nuisance," but this conflicts with 1207 which suggests that it is all the same whether the person joins in the revel or not.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1209-10

1210

Αἶθων μὲν γένος εἰμί, πόλιν δ' εὐτείχεα Θήβην
οἰκῶ, πατρώας γῆς ἀπερυκόμενος.

1211-16

1215

μή μ' ἀφελῶς παίζουσα φίλους δένναζε τοκῆας,
Ἄργυρί· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔπι,
ἡμῖν δ' ἄλλα μὲν ἔστι, γύναι, κακὰ πόλλ', ἐπεὶ
ἐκ γῆς
φεύγομεν, ἀργαλήη δ' οὐκ ἔπι δουλοσύνη,
οὔθ' ἡμᾶς περνᾶσι πόλις γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἡμῖν
καλή, Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ.

1212 Ἄργυρί Bergk, αργυρι A, ἄργυρι ο σὺ AO
1216 λιθαίῳ A²OI ποταμῷ Brunck

1217-18

μήποτε πὰρ κλαίοντα καθεζόμενοι γελάσωμεν
τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀγαθοῖς, Κύρν', ἐπιτερπόμενοι.

1217 "μήποτε ab excerptore illatum videtur" West
κλαίοντι O, κλαίουσι p

THEOGNIS

1209-10

I am Aethon¹ by birth, but I dwell in the well-walled city of Thebes, excluded from my homeland.

¹ Presumably a fictitious name, but its significance is unknown. Since this is the name Odysseus takes on in *Od.* 19.183, an allusion to that passage is often assumed, but there too the significance is unclear. As an adjective it means 'fiery' in a variety of senses.

1211-16

Don't make silly jokes and mock my parents, Argyris.¹ For you there is slavery, but for me, though I have many other woes, woman, because I am in exile from my land, there is no dreadful slavery nor am I for sale. Moreover, I have a city, a fair one that lies on the Lethaean plain.²

¹ Identity unknown. The name would be appropriate for an hetaera. ² Lethaeus was a tributary of the Maeander river, but some see a reference to the river of the underworld, comparing "the plain of Lethe" (τὸ Λήθης πεδίον) in Arist. *Frogs* 186 and Plato *Rep.* 10.621a. Identification depends on how the poem as a whole is interpreted, and on this there is no agreement. See L. Kurke, *ClAnt* 16 (1997) 143-45.

1217-18

Let us never¹ laugh if we sit beside one who mourns, Cynus, rejoicing in our own good fortune.²

¹ West excises the first word because elsewhere in the corpus the negative is used with an imperative, not the subjunctive.

² For the opposite sentiment cf. 1041-42.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1219-20

1220 ἔχθρὸν μὲν χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσμενῇ ἔξαπατῆσαι,
Κύρνε· φίλον δὲ φίλῳ ῥάδιον ἔξαπατᾶν.

1219 δυσμενεῖ Bergk

1221-22

Stob. 3.8.9

πολλὰ φέρειν εἴωθε λόγος θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν
πταίσματα τῆς γνώμης, Κύρνε, ταρασσομένης.

1223-24

Stob. 3.20.1

οὐδέν, Κύρν', ὀργῆς ἀδικώτερον, ἢ τὸν ἔχοντα
πημαίνει θυμῷ δειλὰ χαριζομένη.

1225-26

Stob. 4.22.5

1225 οὐδέν, Κύρν', ἀγαθῆς γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι
γυναικός·
μάρτυς ἐγώ, σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ γίνου ἀληθοσύνης.

1226 δέ μου S, δέ μοι MA, expl. Brunck

THEOGNIS

1219-20

It is difficult for an enemy to deceive even an enemy,
Cyrnus, but easy for a friend to deceive a friend.

1221-30

The first three couplets are preserved only in Stobaeus, the fourth in Athenaeus. Both sources assign them to Theognis. 1227-28 are omitted, since Mimnermus fr. 8 was wrongly inserted here.

1221-22

Speech¹ is apt to cause many a slip for mortal men,
Cyrnus, when their judgement is in turmoil.

¹ Or "calculation." Because Stobaeus cites the couplet under the heading "On cowardice," some emend λόγος to a word for 'fear' (δέος, φόβος), but the error may rest with Stobaeus or the context may have contained a reference to cowardice.

1223-24

There is nothing more unjust than anger, Cyrnus. It
harms the one who possesses it, gratifying his base
instincts.

1225-26

Nothing is sweeter than a good wife, Cyrnus. I tes-
tify to it; you testify to my truthfulness.¹

¹ It is unclear whether this means that Cyrnus is to marry a similar wife or to testify to the character of the poet's wife. Probably the former.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1229-30

Ath. 10.457a

1230 ἤδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρός,
τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθεγγόμενος στόματι.

Book II

1231-34

σχέτλι' Ἔρως, Μανίαι τ' ἐπιθηνήσαντο λαβοῦσαι·
ἐκ σέθεν ὤλετο μὲν Ἴλίου ἀκρόπολις,
ὤλετο δ' Αἰγείδης Θησεὺς μέγας, ὤλετο δ' Αἴας
ἐσθλὸς Ὀϊλιάδης σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις.

1234 ἦσιν West

1235-38

1235 ὦ παῖ, ἄκουσον ἐμεῦ δαμάσας φρένας· οὔτοι
ἀπειθῇ
μῦθον ἐρῶ τῇ σῇ καρδίῃ οὐδ' ἄχαριν.

THEOGNIS

1229-30

For a corpse from the sea has summoned me home now; though dead, it speaks with a living voice.¹

¹ Athenaeus explains the riddle as referring to a conch. After the mollusc was removed, the shell could be used as a trumpet. The poet may be indicating a return from exile.

Book II

1231-1389

The remaining verses are preserved only in ms A, which assigns them to Book 2 (ἐλεγείων β). Many are erotic, with emphasis on the pederastic.

1231-34

Cruel Eros, the spirits of Madness took you up and nursed you. Because of you Troy's acropolis was destroyed, and great Theseus, Aegeus' son, and noble Ajax, Oïleus' son, through your acts of recklessness.¹

¹ Troy was destroyed because of Helen's elopement with Paris; Theseus probably because he accompanied Pirithous in an attempt to carry off Persephone (in some accounts he was imprisoned in Hades, in others he was set free by Heracles); and Ajax because of his rape of Cassandra (cf. Alcaeus fr. 298).

1235-38

Listen, boy, you who have mastered my soul.¹ I'll not say anything unpersuasive or displeasing to your

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἀλλὰ τλήθῃ νόῳ συνιῖν ἔπος· οὔτοι ἀνάγκη
τοῦτ' ἔρδῃν ὅτι σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ᾔ.

1235 ἀπεχθῇ vel ἀπενθῇ Meineke, ἀπηνῇ dub. West
1236 κραδίηι A, corr. Bekker 1237 συνιδεῖν A, corr.
Lachmann

1238ab

μήποτε τὸν παρεόντα μεθεῖς φίλον ἄλλον ἐρέυνα
δειλῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

1239-40

1240 πολλάκι τοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κατὰ σοῦ λέξουσι μάταια,
καὶ παρὰ σοὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ· τῶν δὲ σὺ μὴ ξυνίει.

1240 ξύνιει A, corr. Buttman

1241-42

χαιρήσεις τῇ πρόσθε παροιχομένη φιλότητι,
τῆς δὲ παρερχομένης οὐκέτ' ἔσῃ ταμίης.

THEOGNIS

heart. Come, have the patience of mind to understand my words. You are under no compulsion to do what is distasteful to you.

¹ Or "listen to me, boy, and gain control of your thoughts," i.e., "change your way of thinking"; but *δαμάζω* is so common in erotic contexts that Vetta's explanation seems preferable to the usual rendering.

1238ab

Never forsake the friend you have and seek another, persuaded by what base men say to you.¹

¹ Identical to 1151-52.

1239-40

Often they'll say foolish things against you in my presence and against me in your presence. Pay no heed to them.¹

¹ West separates the couplet from 1238ab, but most connect them and this is unobjectionable.

1241-42

You will derive pleasure from the former love that is past, but you will no longer be in control of the love that is coming on.¹

¹ Perhaps the addressee has passed the age at which he was the one pursued and so could exercise control; now he is at an age when he will do the pursuing and control will change hands.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1243-44

δὴν δὴ καὶ φίλοι ὤμεν· ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισιν ὁμίλει,
ἦθος ἔχων δόλιον, πίστιος ἀντίτυπον.

1244 πιστεως A, corr. West (πίστεος Bekker et A in ras., prob. Vetta)

1245-46

1245 οὐποθ' ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ συμμείξεται· οὐδέ ποθ' ἡμεῖς
πίστοι ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ φίλοι ἐσσόμεθα.

1246 ἔτ' Bekker, τ' dub. West

1247-48

φρόντισον ἔχθος ἐμὸν καὶ ὑπέρβασιν, ἴσθι δὲ
θυμῷ
ὥς σ' ἐφ' ἀμαρτωλῇ τείσομαι ὥς δύναμαι.

1247 εχθρος A, corr. Bekker (ρ in ras. A)

1249-52

1250 παῖ, σὺ μὲν αὐτως ἵππος, ἐπεὶ κριθῶν ἐκορέσθης,
αὐθις ἐπὶ σταθμοὺς ἤλυθες ἡμετέρους
ἡνίοχόν τε ποθῶν ἀγαθὸν λειμῶνά τε καλὸν
κρήνην τε ψυχρὴν ἄλσεά τε σκιερά.

1253-54

ὄλβιος, ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
θηρευταί τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί.

1254 καὶ κύνες ἀγρευταὶ καὶ ξένος ἀλλοδαπός Plat. *Lys.* 212e sine poetae nomine, Hermias in *Phaedr.* 231e (p. 38 Cuvreur) Soloni tribuens

THEOGNIS

1243-44

Let's be friends for a long time; thereafter¹ associate with others, you whose deceitful ways are the very opposite of loyalty.

¹ 1243 = 597, except that *ἔπειτ'* ('thereafter') has replaced *ἀλλά τ'* ('but'). The sense is unsatisfactory and West may well be right to treat *ἔπειτ'* as corrupt.

1245-46

Water and fire will never mix, and we will never be true friends to each other.

1247-48

Reflect on my hatred and your transgression,¹ and know in your heart that I will make you pay for your offence to the best of my ability.

¹ Some such translation is common, but it is very harsh to understand "your" after the preceding "my." Perhaps, as Renihan suggests to me, the correct translation here is "my superiority," since the cognate verb can mean "to surpass."

1249-52

Boy, you're just like a horse; when you got your fill of barley, you came back to my stable, longing for your skilled charioteer, lovely meadow, cool spring water, and shady groves.¹

¹ The horse is a common image in erotic poetry.

1253-54

Happy is he who has dear boys, horses of uncloven hoof, hunting dogs, and friends in foreign parts.¹

¹ Almost identical to Solon fr. 23 (see n. ad loc.).

ELEGIAC POETRY

1255-56

- 1255 ὅστις μὴ παῖδάς τε φιλεῖ καὶ μώνυχας ἵππους
καὶ κύνας, οὐποτέ οἱ θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ.

1257-58

ὦ παῖ, κινδύνοισι πολυπλάγκτοισιν ὁμοῖος
ὀργὴν ἄλλοτε τοῖς ἄλλοτε τοῖσι φίλῃν.

1257 ἱκτίνοισι Welcker, alii alia ὁμοιοῖ Wilamowitz

1258 φιλεῖν A (recep. West), corr. Hermann et Ahrens, τοῖς
φίλος εἰ Schneidewin, alii alia

1259-62

ὦ παῖ, τὴν μορφὴν μὲν ἔφυς καλός, ἀλλ'
ἐπὶκείται

- 1260 καρτερὸς ἀγνώμων σῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος·
ἱκτίνου γὰρ ἔχεις ἀγχιστρόφου ἐν φρεσὶν ἦθος,
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

1263-66

ὦ παῖ, ὅς εὖ ἔρδοντι κακὴν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν,
οὐδέ τις ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐστι χάρις παρὰ σοί·
1265 οὐδέν πώ μ' ὤνησας· ἐγὼ δέ σε πολλάκις ἤδη
εὖ ἔρδων αἰδοῦς οὐδεμιῆς ἔτυχον.

1267-70

παῖς τε καὶ ἵππος ὁμοῖον ἔχει νόον· οὔτε γὰρ ἵππος
ἡνίοχον κλαίει κείμενον ἐν κονίῃ,
ἀλλὰ τὸν ὕστερον ἄνδρα φέρει κριθαῖσι κορεσθείς·
1270 ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ παῖς τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ.

THEOGNIS

1255-56

Whoever does not love boys, horses of uncloven hoof, and dogs, never has good cheer in his heart.

1257-58

Boy, you are like roving perils¹ in your disposition, loving now these, now those.

¹ Welcker's emendation 'kites,' a migratory bird, is attractive, especially in view of 1261, but the corruption is hard to explain.

1259-62

Boy, your form is handsome, but on your head there lies a stubborn and senseless crown. For you have in your heart the disposition of a close-wheeling kite, led on by what other men say.

1263-66

Boy, you have repaid your benefactor badly and there is no gratitude from you for kindnesses rendered. Never yet have you bestowed any benefit on me, and I who have often done you a good turn have met with no respect.

1267-70

A boy and a horse have a similar outlook. A horse does not weep for its charioteer lying in the dust, but carries the man who comes next, when it's had its fill of barley. In the same way also a boy loves the man who's at hand.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1271-74

ὦ παῖ, μαργοσύνης ἀπὸ μὲν νόον ὤλεσας ἐσθλόν,
 αἰσχύνῃ δὲ φίλοις ἡμετέροις ἐγένου·
 ἄμμε δ' ἀνέψυξας μικρὸν χρόνον, ἐκ δὲ θυελλῶν
 ἦκά γ' ἐνωρμίσθην νυκτὸς ἐπειγομένης.

1271 μαργοσύνης . . . μεν A, corr. Bekker 1273 θελλῶν
 A, corr. Bekker 1274 ἐπειγόμενος A, corr. Passow

1275-78

1275 ὥραῖος καὶ Ἔρως ἐπιτέλλεται, ἥνίκα περ γῇ
 ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖς θάλλει ἀεξομένη·
 τῆμος Ἔρως προλιπὼν Κύπρον περικαλλέα νῆσον
 εἶσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους σπέρμα φέρων κατὰ γῆς.

1278 γῆν Weigel

1278ab

ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι, καί σ' ἐκέλευσεν
 οἷχσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρην φιλίην . . .

1278cd

νεβρὸν ὑπέξ <ἐλ>άφοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκὶ πεποιθὼς
 ποσσὶ καταμάρψας αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον.

1278d καταιμάρψας A¹

1279-82

1280 οὐκ ἐθέλω σε κακῶς ἔρδειν, οὐδ' εἴ μοι ἄμεινον
 πρὸς θεῶν ἀθανάτων ἔσσεται, ὦ καλὲ παῖ·

THEOGNIS

1271-74

Boy, because of your lustful behaviour you have lost your good sense, and you have become a source of shame to my friends. For a short time you gave me cooling relief and after stormy weather¹ I quietly put into harbour as night hastened on.²

¹ Presumably a metaphor for passion. ² Or, retaining the reading of the MS, "hastening during the night."

1275-78

Love too rises in season, when the burgeoning earth blooms with spring flowers. Then Love leaves the beautiful island of Cyprus and goes among men, bringing seed down upon the land.

1278ab

Whoever gave you advice about me and told you to abandon my friendship and go . . .¹

¹ The couplet is identical to 1101-1102 and is similarly incomplete, although it is possible, as Vetta argues, that the excerptor intended *καί* to mean "also" rather than "and."

1278cd

Like a lion trusting in his might, I snatched a fawn from the doe with my claws, and did not drink its blood.¹

¹ Identical to 949-50. See n. 1 ad loc.

1279-82

I have no wish to treat you badly, dear boy, not even if it will be better for me in the eyes of the immortal

ELEGIAC POETRY

οὐ γὰρ ἁμαρτωλαῖσιν ἐπὶ σμικραῖσι κάθημαι.
τῶν δὲ καλῶν παίδων †ουτοσετουτ' αδικων†.

1282 οὕτις ἔπ' οὐκ ἀδίκων Vetta, οὐ τίσις οὐδ' ἀδίκων
Boissonade, alii alia

1283-94

- ὦ παῖ, μή μ' ἀδίκηι ἔτι σοι κακταθύμιος εἶναι
βούλομαι, εὐφροσύνη τοῦτο συνεῖς ἀγαθῇ.
1285 οὐ γάρ τοί με δόλῳ παρελεύσεαι οὐδ' ἀπατήσεις·
νικήσας γὰρ ἔχεις τὸ πλεόν ἐξοπίσω,
ἀλλὰ σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, ὥς ποτέ φασιν
Ἰασίου κούρην παρθένον Ἰασίην
1290 ὠραίην περ εὐῶσαν ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν
φεύγειν· ζωσαμένη δ' ἔργ' ἀτέλεστα τέλει
πατρὸς νοσφισθείσα δόμων ξανθῇ Ἀταλάντῃ
ᾧχετο δ' ὑψηλὰς εἰς κορυφὰς ὀρέων
φεύγουσ' ἡμερόεντα γάμον, χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης
δῶρα· τέλος δ' ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἀναινομένη.

1283 καθύμιος A, corr. Bekker
m² (saec. X) ἀπατήσης A, corr. Bekker
A, corr. Bekker

1285 οὐ—δόλῳ suppl.
1290 ζωσαμένην

THEOGNIS

gods. For I do not sit in judgement on trifling offences.¹ Of handsome boys . . .²

¹ Or "For I sit in judgement on no trifling offences."

² The poet may be saying that all handsome boys do wrong or that handsome boys can do wrong with impunity. In an erotic context 'doing wrong' involves failure to reciprocate the affection shown.

1283-94

Boy, don't wrong me. I still want to please you,¹ and I make this observation with all good cheer. Rest assured, you will not get the better of me nor will you trick me. For though (if?) you have won and have the advantage hereafter,² yet I shall wound³ you as you flee from me, as they say once the daughter of Iasius, the maiden Iasie, who was ripe for marriage, refused men and fled. Girding herself, blonde Atalanta left her father's home and tried to accomplish what was not to be accomplished. She went off to the lofty mountain peaks, fleeing from lovely marriage, the gift of golden Aphrodite. But in the end she came to know it, in spite of her refusal.⁴

¹ Many editors treat this as parenthetical: "Boy, don't wrong me—I still want to please you—but understand this with all good cheer." This is unnecessarily harsh. ² Translation uncertain.

³ An erotic metaphor.

⁴ West (*Studies* 165-67) and Vetta argue that what follows the middle of 1288 has been inserted from a different poem on Atalanta, but I agree with those who reject this. Just as Atalanta refused marriage but eventually succumbed to Milanion, so the boy has refused the poet's love but in the end will be won over. No reference to Atalanta's race with Hippomenes need be seen. For recent discussions of the poem see *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 213-14.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1295-98

- 1295 ὦ παῖ, μή με κακοῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὀρίνης,
μηδέ με σὴ φιλότης δώματα Περσεφόνης
οἴχηται προφέρουσα· θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν
βάξιν τ' ἀνθρώπων, ἥπια νωσάμενος.

1295 ὀρίναις A, corr. Bekker

1299-1304

- 1300 ὦ παῖ, μέχρι τίνος με προφεύξεται; ὥς σε διώκων
δίζημ'· ἀλλὰ τί μοι τέρμα γένοιτο κιχεῖν
†σησοιγη†· σὺ δὲ μάργον ἔχων καὶ ἀγήνορα
θυμὸν
φεύγεις ἱκτίνου σχέτλιον ἦθος ἔχων.
ἀλλ' ἐπίμεινον, ἐμοὶ δὲ δίδου χάριν· οὐκέτι δηρὸν
ἔξεις Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου.

1301 σῆς ὀργῆς Hermann, σῆς ὀρμῆς Gianotti

1302 φεύγοις A, corr. Bekker

1305-10

- 1305 θυμῷ γνοῦς ὅτι παιδείας πολυηράτου ἄνθος
ώκύτερον σταδίου, τοῦτο συνεῖς χάλασον
δεσμῷ, μή ποτε καὶ σὺ βιήσῃς, ὄβριμε παίδων,
Κυπρογενοῦς δ' ἔργων ἀντιάσης χαλεπῶν,
ὥσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ὦδ' ἐπὶ σοί. σὺ δὲ ταῦτα φύλαξαι,
1310 μηδέ σε νικήσῃ †παιδαῖδη† κακότης.

1307 δεσμὸν Peek

1309 οἶδ' A, corr. Bekker

1308 ἀντιάσεις A, corr. Blaydes

1310 παῖδ' ἀδαῆ Bergk, alii alia

THEOGNIS

1295-98

Boy, don't stir up my soul in the midst of my cruel torments¹ and don't let my love for you carry me off to the house of Persephone.² Respect the wrath of the gods and the talk of men, and conceive kindly thoughts.

¹ Or perhaps "don't stir up my soul with cruel torments."

² A reference to suicide.

1299-1304

Boy, how long will you flee from me? How I pursue and seek you out! May there come some end (to my eager desire for you?). But you, with lustful and arrogant heart and with the cruel ways of the kite, keep fleeing. Come, wait up and grant me your favour. Not for long will you possess the gift of the violet-crowned Cyprus-born.¹

¹ I.e., youth is short-lived and when the young have passed beyond adolescence Aphrodite no longer causes them to inspire passion in others.

1305-10

Realizing in your heart that the bloom of lovely boyhood passes more swiftly than a footrace, reflect on this and release me from my bonds, lest one day you too, mighty boy, be overpowered and encounter the harsh workings of the Cyprus-born, just as I now do with you. Guard against this and do not let bad behaviour get the better of you . . .

ELEGIAC POETRY

1311-18

οὐ μ' ἔλαθες κλέψας, ὦ παῖ—καὶ γάρ σε
†διωμαι†—

τούτοις, οἷσπερ νῦν ἄρθμιος ἡδὲ φίλος
ἔπλεν, ἐμὴν δὲ μεθήκας ἀτίμητον φιλότητα.

οὐ μὲν δὴ τούτοις γ' ἦσθα φίλος πρότερον,
1315 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων σ' ἐδόκουν θήσεσθαι ἐταῖρον
πιστόν. καὶ δὴ νῦν ἄλλον ἔχουσθα φίλον.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδων κείμει· σὲ δὲ μή τις ἀπάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἐσορῶν παιδοφιλεῖν ἐθέλοι.

1311 οὐκ A, corr. Edmonds διωμαι A (prob. Vetta),
διῶμμαι Hermann, διώκω Ahrens (prob. West)

1312 φίλοις A, corr. Bekker 1314 συ μὲν δὴ τουτοις τ' A,
corr. Hermann 1315 σήσεσθαι A, corr. Seidler

1316 ἔχεισθα Bekker (prob. Vetta) 1317 κειμι A, corr.
Bekker 1318 παιδα φιλεῖν A, corr. Bekker

1318ab

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός· καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν
ἐχθροῖς,
τοῖσι φίλοις δὲ πόνος δεινὰ παθὼν γενόμην.

1319-22

ὦ παῖ, ἐπεὶ τοι δῶκε θεὰ χάριν ἱμερόεσσαν
1320 Κύπρις, σὸν δ' εἶδος πᾶσι νέοισι μέλει,
τῶνδ' ἐπάκουσον ἐπῶν καὶ ἐμὴν χάριν ἔνθεο θυμῷ,
γνοὺς ἔρος ὥς χαλεπὸν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ φέρειν.

1320 παισινεοῖσι A, corr. Bekker 1322 ἔρον ὥς
χαλεπὸς Bergk

THEOGNIS

1311-18

I was aware, boy, that you cheated on me—in fact I . . . you—in favour of those with whom you are now a close friend, throwing aside my friendship as of no value. You were not their friend before, whereas I thought that out of all I would make you a loyal comrade. Go ahead, take another friend now; but I, your benefactor, am laid low. Let no one among all men, viewing you, desire to love a boy.

1318ab¹

O wretch that I am! Because of my wretched suffering I have become a joy to my enemies and a burden to my friends.

¹ Virtually identical to 1107-1108.

1319-22

Boy, since the Cyprian goddess gave you a beauty that arouses desire and all the young men are obsessed with your looks, listen to these words of mine and take them to heart as a favour to me, knowing that love is hard for a man to bear.¹

¹ As Vetta argues, the connection between the causal and main clause seems to be that good looks and good sense should be complementary and that consequently the boy should have the wisdom to reciprocate the speaker's love.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1323-26

Κυπρογέννη, παῦσόν με πόνων, σκέδασον δὲ
μερίμνας

1325

θυμοβόρους, στρέψον δ' αὖθις ἐς εὐφροσύνας·
μερμήρας δ' ἀπόπαυε κακάς, δὸς δ' εὐφροني θυμῷ
μέτρ' ἥβης τελέσαντ' ἔργματα σωφροσύνης.

1324 τρέψον van der Mey
corr. Bekker

1325 ευφρόσυνθυμω A,

1327-34

ὦ παῖ, ἕως ἂν ἔχῃς λείαν γένυν, οὐποτέ σ' αἰνῶν
παύσομαι, οὐδ' εἴ μοι μόρσιμόν ἐστι θανεῖν.
σοί τε διδόντ' ἔτι καλόν, ἐμοί τ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν
ἐρῶντι

1330

αἰτεῖν. ἀλλὰ γονέων λίσσομαι ἡμετέρων,
αἰδεό μ', ὦ παῖ < >, διδοὺς χάριν, εἴ ποτε καὶ σὺ
ἔξεις Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου
χρητίζων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλον ἐλεύσεαι· ἀλλὰ σε δαίμων
δοίῃ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιτυχεῖν ἐπέων.

1327 λῖαν A, corr. Bekker
1329 διδοῦν Bergk (prob. Vetta)
alia

σαίνων A, corr. Orelli
1331 <καλέ> Welcker, alii

1335-36

1335

ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε ἐλθὼν,
εὖδων σὺν καλῷ παιδὶ πανημέριος.

1335-36 οἴκαδε <δ'> ἐλθὼν εὖδει Bekker
A, εὖδων West

1336 ευδειν

THEOGNIS

1323-26

Cyprus-born, put an end to my pain, scatter the cares that gnaw at my heart, and restore me to happiness. Keep away cruel worries and with kindly heart grant me the workings of a sound mind, now that I have completed¹ my span of youth.

¹ Less probably, "when I have completed."

1327-34

Boy, as long as you have a chin that is smooth, I'll never stop praising you, not even if it is destined that I die.¹ It's a fine thing still for you the giver and it's not shameful for me the lover to ask. I beseech you, on behalf of our (my?) parents, show me respect, boy, and grant me your favour. If one day you too shall crave the gift of the Cyprus-born crowned with violets and pursue another, then may the god grant that you meet with the same response.²

¹ Many editors treat 1327-28 as a separate couplet.

² I.e., when you become a lover, may the response you meet with be favourable or unfavourable, depending on how you respond to me.

1335-36

Happy the man who goes home and engages in amorous exercise, sleeping with a handsome boy all day long.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1337-40

οὐκέτ' ἐρῶ παιδός, χαλεπὰς δ' ἀπελάκτισ' ἀνίας,
 μόχθους τ' ἀργαλέους ἄσμενος ἐξέφυγον,
 ἐκλέλυμαι δὲ πόθου πρὸς ἐνστεφάνου Κυθερείης·
 1340 σοὶ δ', ὦ παῖ, χάρις ἔστ' οὐδεμία πρὸς ἐμοῦ.

1341-50

αἰαῖ, παιδὸς ἐρῶ ἀπαλόχροος, ὅς με φίλοισιν
 πᾶσι μάλ' ἐκφαίνει κούκ ἐθέλοντος ἐμοῦ.
 τλήσομαι οὐ κρύψας· ἀκούσικα> πολλὰ βίαια·
 οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' αἰκελίῳ παιδὶ δαμείς ἐφάνην.

1345 παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι τερπνόν, ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ

Γανυμήδους

ἦρατο καὶ Κρονίδης ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,
 ἀρπάξας δ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἀνήγαγε καὶ μιν ἔθηκεν
 δαίμονα, παιδείης ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρατόν.

οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε, Σιμωνίδη, οὐνεκα καὶ γὰρ

1350 ἐξεφάνην καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι δαμείς.

1343 post κρύψας distinxit West αεκουσι A, suppl.
 Welcker 1344 ἐπ' A, corr. Hartel 1345 δ' ἐτι A,
 distinxit Bekker 1350 εξεδάμην A, corr. Baiter

1351-52

ὦ παῖ, μὴ κώμαζε, γέροντι δὲ πείθεο ἀνδρί·
 οὔτοι κωμάζειν σύμφορον ἀνδρὶ νέῳ.

1353-56

πικρὸς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστι καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηγῆς
 ὄφρα τέλειος ἔῃ, Κύρνε, νέοισιν ἔρωσι.

THEOGNIS

1337-40

I am no longer in love with a boy, I have kicked aside harsh pain, I have gladly escaped from grievous hardships, and the fair-crowned Cytherean¹ has released me from longing. And as for your charms, boy, they don't exist in my eyes.

¹ See n. 1 on 1386-89.

1341-50

Alas, I am in love with a soft-skinned boy who shows me off to all my friends in spite of my unwillingness. I'll put up with the exposure—there are many things that one is forced to do against one's will—for it's by no unworthy boy that I was shown to be captivated.¹ And there is some pleasure in loving a boy, since once in fact even the son of Cronus, king of the immortals, fell in love with Ganymede,² seized him, carried him off to Olympus, and made him divine, keeping the lovely bloom of boyhood. So, don't be astonished, Simonides,³ that I too have been revealed as captivated by love for a handsome boy.

¹ Many editors treat what follows as a separate poem.

² For Zeus' abduction of the Trojan Ganymede see especially *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 200-217.

³ See n. 1 on 467-96.

1351-52

Don't go carousing, boy, but take an old man's advice. It's not fitting for a young man to carouse.

1353-56

For the young, Cynus, love is bitter and sweet, kind and harsh,¹ until it is fulfilled. For if one fulfills it, it

ELEGIAC POETRY

1355 ἦν μὲν γὰρ τελέση, γλυκὺ γίνεται· ἦν δὲ διώκων
μὴ τελέση, πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.

1354 τέλος A, corr. Bekker

1357-60

αἰεὶ παιδοφίλῃσιν ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι κεῖται
δύσλοφον, ἀργαλέον μνήμα φιλοξενίης.
1360 χρὴ γάρ τοι περὶ παῖδα πονούμενον εἰς φιλότητα
ὥσπερ κληματίνῳ χεῖρα πυρὶ προσάγειν.

1358 δυσμορον A, corr. Ahrens ex 848, 1024

1361-62

ναῦς πέτρη προσέκυρσας ἐμῆς φιλότητος
ἀμαρτῶν,
ὦ παῖ, καὶ σαπροῦ πείσματος ἀντελάβου.

1363-64

οὐδαμὰ σ' οὐδ' ἀπεὼν δηλήσομαι, οὐδέ με πείσει
οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ὥστε με μή σε φιλεῖν.

1365-66

1365 ὦ παίδων κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων,
στήθ' αὐτοῦ καί μου παῦρ' ἐπάκουσον ἔπη.

1367-68

παιδὸς τοι χάρις ἐστί· γυναικὶ δὲ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος
οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ.

THEOGNIS

is sweet, but if one pursues it without fulfilment, it is the most painful of all things.

¹ Cf. 301.

1357-60

Those who love a boy always have a heavy yoke lying on their necks, a harsh reminder of amorous hospitality. For one who toils to win the love of a boy must, as it were, place his hand in a fire of vine twigs.¹

¹ Such a fire blazes quickly and with great heat. Some treat the couplet as separate.

1361-62

You've lost my love, boy, you're like a ship that has struck a rock, and you've grasped a rotten rope.

1363-64

I'll never cause you harm, even when I am absent, and no one will persuade me not to love you.

1365-66

Most handsome and desirable of all boys, stay where you are and listen to a few words from me.

1367-68

A boy shows gratitude, but a woman is a loyal companion of no one; she always loves the man who's at hand.¹

¹ Contrast 1267-70 where it is a boy's inconstancy that is stressed.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1369-72

παιδὸς ἔρως καλὸς μὲν ἔχειν, καλὸς δ'
ἀποθέσθαι·

1370 πολλὸν δ' εὐρέσθαι ῥήτερον ἢ τελέσαι.
μυρία δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ κρέματα κακά, μυρία δ'
ἐσθλά·

ἀλλ' ἔν τοι ταύτῃ καί τις ἔνεστι χάρις.

1372 τούτῳ Adrados, alii alia

1373-74

οὐδαμά πω κατέμεινας ἐμὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
πᾶσαν

αἰεὶ σπουδαίην ἔρχεται ἀγγελίην.

1374 σπουδαίως van Herwerden

1375-76

1375 ὄλβιος, ὅστις παιδὸς ἐρῶν οὐκ οἶδε θάλασσαν,
οὐδέ οἱ ἐν πόντῳ νύξ ἐπιούσα μέλει.

1377-80

καλὸς ἐὼν κακότητι φίλων δειλοῖσιν ὁμιλεῖς

ἀνδράσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αἰσχρὸν ὄνειδος ἔχεις,

1380 ὦ παῖ· ἐγὼ δ' ἀέκων τῆς σῆς φιλότητος ἁμαρτῶν
ὠνήμην, ἔρδων οἶά τ' ἐλεύθερος ὦν.

1377 φιμον A, corr. Bekker: κακότητα φιλῶν Nauck (prob. Vetta)

THEOGNIS

1369-72

Love of a boy is fine to have and fine to set aside; it is much easier to find than to fulfil. Countless are the woes that hang suspended from it, countless the blessings. But in this way¹ there is in fact some pleasure present.

¹ If *ταύτῃ* is sound, it must equal *οὕτω*, with *ἐν* anticipating *ἔνεσσι* (so Hudson-Williams, Garzya, Vetta), but West, perhaps rightly, judges it to be a corruption for some word expressing the idea of 'pain.'

1373-74

You have never yet stayed for my sake, but you always leave in response to every earnest message.

1375-76

Happy is he who loves a boy and does not know the sea, and is not concerned about the approach of night on the deep.

1377-80

You are handsome, but under the bad influence of friends you associate with base men and because of this, boy, you incur shameful reproach. As for me, although I was reluctant to lose your love, I have benefited from it, acting as a free man should.

ELEGIAC POETRY

1381-85

ἄνθρωποί σ' ἐδόκουν χρυσῆς παρὰ δῶρον ἔχοντα
ἐλθεῖν Κυπρογενοῦς – ̣̣ –̣̣ –

.....
– ̣̣ <Κυπρογενοῦς> δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου
γίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,
1385 ἂν μὴ Κυπρογενῆς δῶ λύσιν ἐκ χαλεπῶν.

1381 ἀνθρώποις A, corr. Bekker πάρα Vetta
1382-83 lacunam stat. et Κυπρογενοῦς iteravit Bekker

1386-89

Κυπρογενὲς Κυθέρεια δολοπλόκε, σοί τι
περισσὸν
Zeὺς τόδε τιμήσας δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν.
δαμνᾶς δ' ἀνθρώπων πυκινὰς φρένας, οὐδέ τίς
ἐστίν
οὕτως ἴφθιμος καὶ σοφὸς ὥστε φυγεῖν.

1386 κυπρόγενες κύθειρα A, corr. Bekker σοι τι A, σοὶ τί
A² (prob. West), σοί τι edd. nonnulli, 1388 δάμνασαι
Bergk, δ' del. Hartung

THEOGNIS

1381-85

Men thought that you had come with a gift from the golden Cyprus-born . . . (But) the gift of the violet-crowned (Cyprus-born) becomes a most painful burden for men to bear, if she does not grant release from the pain.

1386-89

Cyprus-born Cytherean,¹ weaver of wiles, to honour you Zeus gave you this special gift. For you overwhelm the sound minds of men and there is no one strong or clever enough to escape you.

¹ For an explanation of Aphrodite's connection with both Cyprus and Cythera, an island off the south coast of the Peloponnese, see Hes. *Theog.* 190-200.

PHILIADAS

I Steph. Byz. (p. 310.9 Meineke)

Θέσπεια, πόλις Βοιωτίας . . . καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τῶν
ἀναιρεθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν· ἦν δὲ Φιλιάδου Μεγα-
ρέως·

ἄνδρες θ' οἳ ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις
Ἑλικῶνος,
λήματι τῶν αὐχέϊ Θεσπιάς εὐρύχορος.

Hinc Eust. in Hom. *Il.* 2.498 (i.406.10 V.d.Valk)

1 τοί Brunck	κροτάφῳ Steph.	2 ἄρχει . . .
εὐρύχωρος Steph.		

PHILIADAS

1 Stephanus of Byzantium, *Lexicon of Place-names*

Thespeia, a city in Boeotia . . . And there is an epigram on those killed by the Persians.¹ It was by Philiadas of Megara:²

Spacious Thespieae³ takes pride in the spirit of those men who once dwelled beneath the brows of Helicon.

¹ At Thermopylae in 480. ² See Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* pp. 78-79: "the fact that the author is named probably means that the epigram is demonstrative, not inscriptional, preserved in an anthology." Philiadas is otherwise unknown, but see n. 2 on Theognis 773-88. ³ A city in south-central Boeotia.

PHOCYLIDES

TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda* (iv.754.19 Adler)

Φωκυλίδης· Μιλήσιος, φιλόσοφος, σύγχρονος Θεόγνιδος· ἦν δὲ ἐκάτερος μετὰ χμζ' ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, Ὀλυμπιάδι γεγονότες νθ'. ἔγραψεν ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας, παραινέσεις ἥτοι γνώμας· ἃς τινες Κεφάλαια ἐπιγράφουσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλιακῶν κεκλεμμένα.

2 *Plut. de aud.* 13.45a

μέμψαιτο δ' ἂν τις Ἀρχιλόχου μὲν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Παρμενίδου δὲ τὴν στιχοποιίαν, Φωκυλίδου δὲ τὴν εὐτέλειαν, Εὐριπίδου δὲ τὴν λαλίαν, Σοφοκλέους δὲ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν . . . ∴ ἕκαστός γε μὴν ἐπαινέεται κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς δυνάμεως, ᾧ κινεῖν καὶ ἄγειν πέφυκεν.

PHOCYLIDES

TESTIMONIA

1 *Suda*

Phocylides, a philosopher from Miletus and contemporary of Theognis. Both flourished 647 years after the Trojan War, in the 59th Olympiad (544/41).¹ Phocylides wrote hexameters and elegies² containing admonitions or maxims. Some give them the title *Main Topics*; they are lifted from the Sibylline books.³

¹ Cf. Theognis test. 1. Other sources give an Olympiad earlier or later. ² West, *JHS* 98 (1978) 164-67, denies that Phocylides wrote elegies and argues that the hexameter fragments came from one gnomic poem (see n. 2 on fr. 1). ³ A reference to the *Pseudo-Phocylidea*, a collection of 230 gnomic hexameters written probably early in the 1st cent. A.D. For a text, translation, and commentary on these see P. W. Van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (Leiden 1978).

2 Plutarch, *On Listening*

One might find fault with Archilochus for his subject matter, Parmenides for his versification, Phocylides for his impoverished language, Euripides for his garrulity, and Sophocles for his unevenness . . . Nevertheless, each is praised for the individual capacity nature has given him to move and lead us on.

ELEGIAC POETRY

3 Cic. *ad Att.* 4.9.1

nos hic cum Pompeio fuimus. multa mecum de re publica, sane sibi displicens, ut loquebatur (sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum), Syriam spernens, Hispaniam iactans, hic quoque ut loquebatur; et, opinor, usquequaque, de hoc cum dicemus, sit hoc quasi καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου.

FRAGMENTS

1. *Elegus*

1 Strabo 10.5.12

ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀμοργὸς τῶν Σποράδων, ὅθεν ἦν Σιμωνίδης ὁ τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητής, καὶ Λέβινθος καὶ †Λερία†.

καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· Λέριοι κακοί, οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὃς
δ' οὐ·

πάντες πλὴν Προκλέους—καὶ Προκλέης Λέριος.

διεβέβληντο γὰρ ὡς κακοήθεις οἱ ἐνθένδε ἄνθρωποι.

1 -λίδου codd., corr. Fick
Πατροκλέης vv.ll.

2 Πατροκλέους et

¹ Strabo's text is corrupt, but however emended it clearly contained the name Leros. Leros is south of Samos, with Amorgos and Lebinthos to the southwest of Leros. ² West maintains

PHOCYLIDES

3 Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*

I was with Pompey here. He talked with me at length about politics and was quite critical of himself, as he said (for in his case this is a necessary proviso), expressing scorn for Syria and disdain for Spain, here too “as he said,” and in my opinion this is to be added everywhere when we speak of him, like the tag “this too is by Phocylides.”¹

¹ Cf. frs. 1-5 and probably 6.

For additional testimonia see Mimmn. test. 8, Theognis test. 5, and the introduction to fr. 4.

FRAGMENTS

1. *Elegy*

1 Strabo, *Geography*

And there is also Amorgos, one of the Sporades, whence came the iambic poet Semonides, and Lebinthos and Leros:¹

This too is by Phocylides.² The Lerians are base, not just one and another not, but all except Procles³—and Procles is a Lerian.

For those who came from there were charged with having a bad character.

that Strabo had a memory lapse and should have said Δημοδόκου (see West's Demodocus fr. 2), but this is based largely on his view that Phocylides did not write elegies. Attribution of the couplet to Phocylides is caustically defended by G. Giangrande, *Studies in Classical Philology* (Amsterdam 1992) 33-37. ³ Identity unknown.

ELEGIAC POETRY

2-16. Hexametri

2 Stob. 4.22.192

Φωκυλίδου·

καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· τετόρων ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἐγένοντο
φῦλα γυναικείων· ἥ μὲν κυνός, ἥ δὲ μελίσσης,
ἥ δὲ συὸς βλοσυρῆς, ἥ δ' ἵππου χαιτηέσσης.
εὐφόρος ἦδε, ταχεῖα, περίδρομος, εἶδος ἀρίστη·
5 ἥ δὲ συὸς βλοσυρῆς οὐτ' ἄρ κακὴ οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλή·
ἥ δὲ κυνὸς χαλεπή τε καὶ ἄγριος· ἥ δὲ μελίσσης
οἰκονόμος τ' ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἐπίσταται ἐργάζεσθαι·
ἥς εὐχεο, φίλ' ἐταῖρε, λαχεῖν γάμου ἱμερόεντος.

1 τῶν Stob., τῶνδ' Paris. 1985, τῶν<δε> γένοντο Trincavelli
8 εὐχευ Stob., corr. Fick

3 Stob. 4.29.28

Φωκυλίδου·

καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· τί πλέον, γένος εὐγενὲς εἶναι,
οἷς οὐτ' ἐν μύθοις ἔπεται χάρις οὐτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ;

1 -λίδου codd., corr. Brunck τὸ codd., corr. Brunck

4 Dio Chrys. or. 36.10-13

εἶπον οὖν προσπαίζων πρὸς αὐτόν “πότερόν σοι δο-
κεῖ, ὦ Καλλίστρατε, ἀμείνων ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος ἢ

PHOCYLIDES

2-16. *Dactylic Hexameters*

2 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Phocylides:

This too is by Phocylides. The tribes of women originated from these four: one from a bitch, one from a bee, one from a bristly¹ sow, one from a long-maned mare. The last bears herself well, is swift, a gad-about, and of the finest form. The one from a bristly sow is neither bad nor good. The one from a bitch is difficult and wild. The one from a bee is a good housekeeper and knows how to work. Pray, dear friend, to obtain delightful marriage with her as your lot.²

¹ Translation uncertain. The word normally describes a fearsome appearance, but this ill suits what follows. ² The poem is perhaps influenced by Sem. fr. 7, but both could be drawing on a common tradition.

3 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Phocylides:

This too is by Phocylides. Of what advantage is noble birth to those who have nothing attractive in what they say or plan?

4 Dío Chrysostom, *Discourses*

Therefore I said to him in jest, "Which do you think, Callistratus, is the better poet, Homer or Phocylides?"

ELEGIAC POETRY

Φωκυλίδης;” καὶ ὃς γελάσας ἔφη “ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐπίσταμαι ἔγωγε τοῦ ἑτέρου ποιητοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, οἶμαι δὲ μηδὲ τούτων μηδένα.” . . . τὸν δὲ Φωκυλίδην ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, ὥς λέγεις· πάνυ δὲ τῶν ἐνδόξων γέγονε ποιητῶν. . . . “οὕτως,” ἔφην, “καὶ τῆς Φωκυλίδου ποιήσεως ἔξεστί σοι λαβεῖν δείγμα ἐν βραχεῖ. καὶ γάρ ἐστιν οὐ τῶν μακρὰν τινα καὶ συνεχῇ ποίησιν εἰρόντων . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρία ἔπη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἢ ποίησις καὶ πέρας λαμβάνει. ὥστε καὶ προστίθῃσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἕκαστον διανόημα, ἅτε σπουδαῖον καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἡγούμενος, οὐχ ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως ὠνόμασεν αὐτόν. ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι εἰκότως προσθεῖναι Φωκυλίδης τῇ τοιαύτῃ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀποφάσει;

καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ
κόσμον
οἰκέουσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.

1 -λίδου codd., corr. Brunck 2 οἰκεῦσα codd., corr. Fick

5 Phrynich. *ecl.* 335 (p. 96 Fischer)

γογγυσμὸς καὶ γογγύζειν· ταῦτα ἀδόκιμα μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, Ἰακὰ δέ. Φωκυλίδην γὰρ οἶδα κεχρημένον αὐτῷ τὸν Μιλήσιον, ἄνδρα παλαιὸν σφόδρα·

PHOCYLIDES

And he replied with a laugh, "For my part I don't even know the second poet's name, nor do I think any of these men knows it." . . . You people do not know Phocylides, as you state, and yet he is one of the highly renowned poets. . . . "So too," I said, "you may take a brief sample from the poetry of Phocylides. For he is not one of those who string together long and continuous poetry . . . but his poetry has a beginning and end in two or three verses. And so he attaches his name to each sentiment, believing as he does that it is a serious matter and of great importance, unlike Homer who nowhere named himself in his poetry. Or don't you think that Phocylides had good reason to attach his name to such a maxim and pronouncement as this?"

This too is by Phocylides. A small and orderly city on a height is superior to foolish Nineveh.¹

¹ Nineveh, capital of Assyria, was destroyed by the Medes in 612, but the couplet need not have been composed shortly after the event.

5 Phrynichus, *Selection of Attic Nouns and Verbs*

γογγυσμός ('muttering') and γογγύζειν ('to mutter'): these are not disreputable words, but are Ionic. For I know that Phocylides of Miletus, a very ancient man, used it:

ELEGIAC POETRY

καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· χρή τοι τὸν ἑταῖρον ἑταίρῳ
φροντίζειν, ἄσσ' ἂν περιγογγύζωσι πολῖται.

1 ἑταίρων Kalinka, ἑταίρου dub. Diehl

6 Schol. Ar. *Nubes* 240 (p. 92 Dübner)

Φωκυλίδης ἐν μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ποιήμασι κατὰ τὴν
συνήθειαν τοὺς χρεωφειλέτας χρήστας καλεῖ λέγων
οὕτως·

ᾠ
<καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω·> χρήστης κακοῦ ἔμμεναι
ἀνδρὸς
φεύγειν, μή σέ γ' ἀνιήσῃ παρὰ καιρὸν ἀπαιτέων.

Suda (i.267.26, iv.825.15 Adler), vv. 1-2

1 suppl. Bergk χρήστας κακοὺς *Suda* bis
2 ἀνιήσῃ Bergk, ἀνιήσειε διδοὺς codd.

7 Stob. 4.15.6

Φωκυλίδου·

χρηρίζων πλούτου μελέτην ἔχε πίονος ἀγροῦ·
ἀγρὸν γάρ τε λέγουσιν Ἀμαλθείης κέρας εἶναι.

8 Orion *anth.* 1.22 (p. 43 Schneidewin)

ἐκ τῶν Φωκυλίδου·

νυκτὸς βουλευεῖν, νυκτὸς δέ τοι ὀξυτέρῃ φρὴν

PHOCYLIDES

This too is by Phocylides. Comrade should be concerned for comrade with regard to whatever the citizens mutter.

6 Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*

Phocylides in his poems uses *χρῆσται* with the customary meaning of 'debtors,'¹ speaking as follows:

<This too is by Phocylides.> Avoid being the debtor of a base man, lest he cause you grief by demanding repayment inappropriately.

¹ Aristophanes had used the word to mean 'creditors.'

7 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Phocylides:

If you desire wealth, give your attention to a rich farm; for a farm, they say, is a horn of Amaltheia.¹

¹ For Amaltheia see Frazer's note on Apollodorus' 2.7.5 in the Loeb edition.

8 Orion, *Anthology*

From the works of Phocylides:

Take counsel at night, since at night the mind of

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ἀνδράσιν· ἡσυχίῃ δ' ἀρετὴν <ν> διζημένῳ ἐσθλή.

2 ἀρετὴ cod., corr. Schneidewin

9 Alex. Aphrod. in Arist. *Top.* 3.118a6 (*Comm. in Arist. Gr.* ii.258.7)

τὸ γοῦν φιλοσοφεῖν τε καὶ θεωρεῖν βέλτιον μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι, οὐ μὲν καὶ αἰρετώτερον τοῖς ἐν ἐνδείᾳ οὖσι καὶ μὴ δυναμένοις ἄλλως εἶναι· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Φωκυλίδην·

δίζησθαι βιοτήν, ἀρετὴν δ' ὅταν ᾗ βίος ἤδη.

Ps.-Diogen. 4.39 (*Paroem. Gr.* i.237.20), Apost. 6.8a (*Paroem. Gr.* ii.366.10)

δεῖ ζητεῖν vel ζητεῖσθαι Aphrod., δίζεσθαι paroem.: corr. Schneidewin

10 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 5.1.15.1129b27

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις κρατίστη τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ δικαιοσύνη . . . καὶ παροιμιαζόμενοί φαμεν·

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετὴ 'στιν.

PHOCYLIDES

men is sharper; quiet is good for one who seeks excellence.¹

¹ The thought became proverbial. See the many sources cited by Gentili-Prato.

9 Alexander of Aphrodisias on Aristotle, *Topica*

To be a philosopher and to theorize is better than to make money, but it is not preferable for those who are in need and are unable to escape from it. For, in the words of Phocylides:

Seek a livelihood, and whenever you have it, seek excellence.¹

¹ Plato *Rep.* 3.407a seems to have this passage in mind when he attributes to Phocylides the necessity to practise excellence (*ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν*) whenever anyone has made his livelihood (*ὅταν τῷ ἤδη βίος ᾖ*).

10 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

And because of this justice is often deemed to be the best virtue . . . and we have the proverbial saying:

In justice there is the sum total of every excellence.¹

¹ Aristotle does not name the author, but the verse appears as Theognis 147 (q.v.). Michael of Ephesus (*Comm. in Arist. Gr.* xxi(3).8.10; cf. xx.210.11) cites Theophrastus as the authority for assigning the verse to both Theognis and Phocylides.

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11 Stob. 2.15.8

Φωκυλίδου·

πολλοί τοι δοκέουσι σαόφρονες ἔμμεναι ἄνδρες
σὺν κόσμῳ στείχοντες, ἐλαφρόνοοί περ ἔόντες.

1 σῶφρονες cod., corr. Gaisford 2 ἐλαφρόνοοί cod.,
corr. Gaisford

12 Arist. Pol. 4.1295b25

βούλεται δέ γε ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἴσων εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίων ὅτι
μάλιστα, τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχει μάλιστα τοῖς μέσοις . . .
διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ηὔξατο Φωκυλίδης·

πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει
εἶναι.

13 Plut. *de aud.* 18.47e

οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὥς φησι Φωκυλίδης,

πόλλ' ἀέκοντα παθεῖν διζήμενον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλόν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ γελασθῆναι δεῖ πολλὰ καὶ ἀδοξῆσαι . . .

Clem. *Strom.* 5.140.6; *Anecd. Paris.* (i.166.14 Cramer)

παθεῖν πολλὰ ἀέκοντα *Anecd.*, corr. Bergk πόλλ'
ἀπατηθῆναι Plut., πολλὰ πλανηθῆναι Clem.

PHOCYLIDES

11 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Phocylides:

Many men who walk about in an orderly manner¹ seem to be of sound mind, although their wits are actually shallow.

¹ Or "with ornate dress."

12 Aristotle, *Politics*

But surely the city wishes to consist as much as possible of people who are equal and alike, and this is found most of all in the middle classes . . . For this reason it was a fine prayer Phocylides made:

There are many advantages for those who adopt a middle course; that's the course I want in the city.¹

¹ Presumably in the context of class turmoil. Cf. Theognis 219-20, 331, 335.

13 Plutarch, *On Listening*

For not only must one, as Phocylides says,

suffer much unwillingly in a search for merit,

but also be much laughed at and meet with disrepute . . .

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14 Ath. 10.427f-428b

διὸ καὶ καλῶς οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοι λέγουσι τὸν οἶνον
οὐκ ἔχειν πηδάλια . . . ὁ δὲ Φωκυλίδης ἔφη·

χρὴ δ' ἐν συμποσίῳ κυλίκων περινισομενάων
ἡδέα κωτίλλοντα καθήμενον οἶνοποτάζειν.

15 Ps.-Plut. *de lib. educ.* 5.3f

κινδυνεύει δὲ καὶ Φωκυλίδης ὁ ποιητὴς καλῶς
παραινεῖν λέγων·

< – ὕ – ὕ – ὕ – > χρὴ παῖδ' ἔτ' εὐόντα
καλὰ διδάσκειν ἔργα < ὕ – ὕ – ὕ – >.

16 Clem. *Strom.* 5.127.4

ἔτι πρὸς τοῖσδε Φωκυλίδης μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους
δαίμονας καλῶν, τοὺς μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθοὺς αὐτῶν, τοὺς
δὲ φαύλους διὰ τούτων παρίστησιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς
ἀποστάτας τινὰς παρειλήφαμεν·

ἀλλ' ἄρα δαίμονές εἰσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοτε
ἄλλοι
οἱ μὲν ἐπερχομένου κακοῦ ἀνέρας ἐκλύσασθαι.

2 κακὸν ἀνέρος codd., corr. Schneidewin

PHOCYLIDES

14 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Consequently those who speak in proverbs well say that wine has no rudder . . . and Phocylides said:

When the cups go round at the symposium one should sit and chat pleasantly while drinking.

15 Pseudo-Plutarch, *On the Education of Children*

And the poet Phocylides seems to give good advice when he says:

While still a child one should learn noble deeds.

16 Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies*

Moreover Phocylides who calls the angels *daimones* (spirits) represents some of them as good and some as bad, since we have ascertained that certain ones are rebels:

But, as it seems, there are different spirits at different times that attend upon men, some to grant men escape from coming ill . . .¹

¹ The passage presumably went on to say something like, "and others to inflict ill."

I have omitted the epigram ascribed to Phocylides in *Anth. Pal.* 10.117, since it is obviously much later. See Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* p. 159.

DEMODOCUS

TESTIMONIUM

1 Anon. in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* xx.439.15)

ὁ Δημόδοκος Μιλήσιος Λέριος ἦν τὸ γένος.

FRAGMENTS

1 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 7.8.1151a5

ὅτι μὲν οὖν κακία ἢ ἀκρασία οὐκ ἐστὶ, φανερόν. ἀλλὰ πη ἴσως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ προαίρεσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐστίν· οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ὁμοίον γε κατὰ τὰς πράξεις, ὥσπερ τὸ Δημοδόκου εἰς Μιλησίους·

ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὸδε Δημοδόκου· Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσιν, δρῶσιν δ' οἷά περ ἀξύνετοι.

καὶ οἱ ἀκρατεῖς ἄδικοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσιν, ἀδικοῦσι δέ.

1 suppl. Bergk

DEMODOCUS

TESTIMONIUM

1 Anonymous on Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

Demodocus of Miletus was a Lelian by birth.¹

¹ The source then comments on fr. 1. Nothing more is known about Demodocus, but he has been tentatively assigned to the 6th century.

FRAGMENTS

1 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

That unrestraint is not a vice is clear (although in a way perhaps it is), since unrestraint is over and above deliberate choice, whereas vice is in accordance with it. Nevertheless, it is the same in its actions, as in what Demodocus said about the Milesians:

◁This too is by Demodocus.▷ The Milesians are not fools, but they act as fools do.

Similarly the unrestrained are not unjust, but they act unjustly.

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2 *Anth. Pal.* 11.235 (Δημοδόκου)

καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου· Χῖοι κακοί, οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὅς δ'
οὔ·
πάντες πλὴν Προκλέους—καὶ Προκλέης δὲ
Χίος.

Tetrameter

6 *Diog. Laert.* 1.84

λέγεται δὲ (ὁ Βίας) καὶ δίκας δεινότατος γεγονέναι
εἰπεῖν, ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μέντοι τῇ τῶν λόγων ἰσχύι προσ-
εχρήτο· ὅθεν καὶ Δημόδοκος (δημόδικος codd., corr.
Bochart) ὁ Λέριος (ὁ ἀλιείριος vel ὁ ἀλείριος codd., corr.
Menagius) τοῦτο αἰνίττεται λέγων·

ἦν τύχης τίνων, δικάζω τὴν Πριηνίην δίκην.

τίνων, τήνων, τήνων (η in ras.), πίνων, κρίνων codd., Τηίων
dub. West δικάζω codd., corr. West

DEMODOCUS

2 *Palatine Anthology*

From Demodocus:

This too is by Demodocus. The Chians are base, not just one and another not, but all except Procles—and Procles is a Chian.¹

¹ Unless West is right that Phoc. fr. 1 (see n. 2 ad loc.) is actually the work of Demodocus, we should treat this as a spurious couplet modeled on Phocylides. The last word in v. 2 is arbitrarily accented *Xíos* instead of *Xîos* so as to make it scan.

West prints as fr. 3-5 three epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology* which follow immediately after fr. 2 and which have the heading *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* ("by the same"). They are treated by West and others as spurious and so are omitted here. A translation can be found in the *Loeb Greek Anthology* iv.183.

Trochaic Tetrameter

6 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

Bias is also said to have been very skilful at pleading cases, but he used the power of his oratory to a good end. Hence Demodocus of Leros alludes to this when he says:

If you happen to be paying requital,¹ plead your case in the Prienian manner.²

¹ Text and translation uncertain.

² I.e., as Bias would. Bias, one of the Seven Sages, came from Priene (cf. Hipponax fr. 123).

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TESTIMONIA

1 Diog. Laert. 9.18-20

Ξενοφάνης Δεξίου ἢ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος (*FGrHist* 244 F 68a), Ὀρθομένους Κολοφώνιος ἐπαινεῖται πρὸς τοῦ Τίμωνος· φησὶ γοῦν (fr. 60.1 Di Marco): “Ξενοφάνη θ’ ὑπάτυφον, Ὀμηραπάτην ἐπικόπτην.” οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας ***, διέτριβε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. . . . γέγραφε δὲ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ’ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὀμήρου, ἐπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψώδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀντιδοξάσαι τε λέγεται Θαλῇ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ, καθάψασθαι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδου. μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτός φησι (fr. 8). . . . ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἑλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποικισμὸν ἔπη δισχίλια. καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. . . . γέγονε δὲ καὶ

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TESTIMONIA

Only the elegiac fragments and two of the many testimonia are included here. All the fragments and testimonia are printed by Gentili-Prato and all are translated by J. H. Lesher, *Xenophanes of Colophon* (Toronto 1992). Most of the testimonia refer to his philosophical views.

1 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

Xenophanes, the son of Dexius or, according to Apollodorus, of Orthomenes, from Colophon, is praised by Timon.¹ At any rate he says: "Xenophanes, moderately free of vanity, censorious of Homer's deceit."² Banished from his homeland,³ (he spent time?) in Zancle in Sicily ***⁴ and he also spent time in Catana. . . . He wrote in hexameters as well as elegiac and iambic poems against Hesiod and Homer, censuring what they said about the gods.⁵ But he also recited his own works. He is said to have opposed the views of Thales and Pythagoras,⁶ and he also attacked Epimenides. He lived a very long life, as he himself states somewhere (fr. 8). . . . He composed poems on both the foundation of Colophon and the colonization of Elea in Italy, two thousand verses.⁷ And he flourished in the 60th Olympiad (540-537).⁸ . . . There was also another

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ἄλλος Ξενοφάνης Λέσβιος ποιητῆς ἰάμβων.

2 Procl. in Hes. *Op.* 286 (p. 96 Pertusi) = Plut. fr. 19 Bernard.

Ξενοφάνην διὰ δὴ τινα πρὸς τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν φιλοσόφους καὶ ποιητὰς μικροψυχίαν Σίλλους ἀτόπους συνθεῖναι κατὰ πάντων φιλοσόφων καὶ ποιητῶν.

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Xenophanes, an iambic poet from Lesbos.⁹

- ¹ A sceptic philosopher and poet, 3rd c. B.C. ² Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 1.224, quotes the same verse, but in the nominative. ³ See n. 3 on fr. 8. ⁴ Diels was probably right to propose a reference in the lacuna to the poet's sojourn in Elea (on the west coast of Italy). ⁵ An example is fr. 11 D.-K.: "Homer and Hesiod have attributed to the gods all that are matters of reproach and blame among men: theft, adultery, and mutual deceit." There are no iambic poems extant, but fr. 14 D.-K. consists of an iambic trimeter followed by an hexameter. This reminds us of 'Homer,' *Margites*, and F. Bossi, *Studi sul Margite* (Ferrara 1986) 39-43, suggests that this poem was composed by Xenophanes. ⁶ See fr. 7, 7a. ⁷ It is unknown whether these were in hexameters or in elegiac verse. ⁸ Several other sources record the same or almost the same date, but Clement, *Miscellanies* 1.64.2, states that according to Apollodorus (*FGrHist* 244 F 68c) Xenophanes was born in the 40th Olympiad (620-617). This date has been generally rejected: for a detailed study of the question see L. Woodbury, *Collected Writings* (Atlanta 1991) 96-117. ⁹ Nothing is known of this poet.

2 Proclus on Hesiod, *Works and Days*

Because of some mean-spiritedness towards contemporary philosophers and poets, Xenophanes composed strange *Silloi*¹ against all philosophers and poets.

- ¹ This was the title of a work in hexameters by Timon of Phlius (see test. 1) who frequently praised Xenophanes and actually dedicated his *Silloi* to him. We do not know the etymology of the word, but it clearly means something like "lampoons" and it may be a synonym of *Parodies* (*Παρωδίαι*) which Athenaeus (2.54c) uses to introduce Xen. fr. 22 D.-K. Xenophanes' *Silloi* comprised at least five books and were in hexameters, perhaps with occasional iambic trimeters interspersed.

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FRAGMENTS

Elegi

1 Ath. 11.462c

ὁρῶν οὖν ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ συμπόσιον κατὰ τὸν
Κολοφώνιον Ξενοφάνη πλήρες ὄν πάσης θυμηδίας·

νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες ἀπάντων
καὶ κύλικες· πλεκτοὺς δ' ἀμφιτιθεῖ στεφάνους,
ἄλλος δ' εὐῶδες μύρον ἐν φιάλῃ παρατείνει·

κρητὴρ δ' ἔστηκεν μεστὸς εὐφροσύνης·
5 ἄλλος δ' οἶνος ἐτοῖμος, ὃς οὐποτέ φησι προδώσειν,
μείλιχος ἐν κεράμοις, ἄνθος ὀσδόμενος·

ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἀγνὴν ὁδμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἵησιν,
ψυχρὸν δ' ἐστὶν ὕδωρ καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ καθαρὸν·

10 πάρκεινται δ' ἄρτοι ξανθοὶ γεραρή τε τράπεζα
τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος πίονος ἀχθομένη·

βωμὸς δ' ἄνθεσιν ἂν τὸ μέσον πάντῃ πεπύκασται,
μολπὴ δ' ἀμφὶς ἔχει δώματα καὶ θαλίη.

χρὴ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνὲν εὐφρονας ἄνδρας
εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις,

15 σπείσαντάς τε καὶ εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι
πρήσσειν—ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν ἐστὶ προχειρότερον,
οὐχ ὕβρεις—· πίνειν δ' ὅποσον κεν ἔχων ἀφίκοιο
οἴκαδ' ἄνευ προπόλου μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος·

20 ἀνδρῶν δ' αἰνεῖν τοῦτον ὃς ἐσθλὰ πίων ἀναφαίνει,
ὥς ἦ μνημοσύνη καὶ τόνος ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς·

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FRAGMENTS

Elegies

I Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Since then I myself see that your symposium, in accordance with Xenophanes of Colophon, is full of every delight:

For now the floor is clean and clean the hands of everyone and the cups;¹ (one servant) places woven garlands round (the heads of the guests), and another offers sweet-smelling perfume in a saucer; the mixing-bowl stands filled with good cheer; on hand is additional wine, which promises never to run out, mellow in its jars and fragrant with its bouquet; in the middle incense sends forth its pure and holy aroma and there is water, cool, sweet, and clear;² nearby are set golden-brown loaves and a magnificent table laden with cheese and thick honey; in the centre an altar is covered all over with flowers, and song and festivity pervade the room.

For men of good cheer it is meet³ first to hymn the god⁴ with reverent tales and pure words, after pouring libations and praying for the ability to do what is right—for in truth this is a more obvious⁵ thing to do, not deeds of violence; it is meet to drink as much as you can hold and come home without an attendant unless you are very old, and to praise that man who after drinking reveals noble thoughts, so that there is a recollection of and striving for excellence; it is not meet to make an array of the wars of

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οὐ τι μάχας διέπειν Τιτήνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων
οὐδέ <τι> Κενταύρων, πλάσμα<τα> τῶν
προτέρων,
ἢ στάσιας σφεδανὰς—τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν
ἔνεστιν—
θεῶν <δὲ> προμηθείην αἰὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν.

4-22 habet epitome, unde 4-7 Eust. in Hom. Od. 1633.3

2 ἀμφιτιθεῖς A, corr. Dindorf 4 κρατὴρ codd., corr. Hermann
6 ὀζόμενος Hermann, prob. West alii
7 ὁσμὴν epit., Eust. 9 παρκέεται Wackernagel, prob. West
13 ὕμνευ epit., ὕμνείν C et edd. plerique, ὕμνεν A, prob. Gent.-Pr.
19 ἔσθλ' εἰπὼν Fränkel, ἐπιὼν Untersteiner 20 ἢ A, ἢ epit.,
ἢ Ahrens, οἱ Koraes τὸν ὅς codd., τόνος Koraes 21
διέπει epit., διέπων Fränkel 22 τι add. Meineke, alii alia
πλασμάτων codd., corr. Schweighäuser 23 σφεδανὰς
Osann, φενδόνας A 24 δὲ add. Camerarius ἀγαθόν
Francke

2 Ath. 10.413c-414c

καὶ οὐδὲν παράδοξον τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀδηφάγους
γενέσθαι· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀθλοῦντες μετὰ τῶν γυμνασ-
μάτων καὶ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ διδάσκονται. διὸ καὶ Εὐριπί-
δης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Αὐτολύκῳ λέγει (fr. 282 N.) . . . ταῦτ'
εἵληφεν ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Κολοφωνίου ἐλεγείων
Ξενοφάνους οὕτως εἰρηκότος·

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταχυτῇτι ποδῶν νίκην τις ἄροιτο
ἢ πενταθλεύων, ἔνθα Διὸς τέμενος
παρ Πίσαιο ροῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ, εἴτε παλαίων

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the Titans or Giants or Centaurs, creations of our predecessors, or violent factions—there is nothing useful in them; and it is meet always to have a good regard for the gods.

¹ Xenophanes seems to be describing an ideal symposium, not one actually in progress. The meal presumably formed the subject of the verses omitted at the beginning.

² To be mixed with the wine.

³ I have assumed that *χρή* (v. 13) governs the infinitives in vv. 17, 19, 21, and 24, but some explain them as imperatives and an infinitive may not be the correct text in v. 21.

⁴ Probably Apollo or Dionysus.

⁵ Meaning uncertain; literally "closer at hand."

2 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

And it is not surprising that these men became gluttons. For all athletes are taught to eat large amounts in connection with their gymnastic exercises. That is why Euripides says in his first *Autolycus* . . . These sentiments have been taken by Euripides from the elegiac verses of Xenophanes of Colophon who spoke as follows:

But if someone were to gain a victory by the swiftness of his feet or in the pentathlon,¹ where there is the precinct of Zeus by Pisa's stream² in Olympia, or

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- ἥ καὶ πυκτοσύνην ἀλγινόεσσαν ἔχων
 5 εἴτε τὸ δεινὸν ἄεθλον, ὃ παγκράτιον καλέουσιν,
 ἀστοῖσιν κ' εἴη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν,
 καί κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο,
 καί κεν σῖτ' εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων
 ἐκ πόλεως, καὶ δῶρον ὃ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη—
 10 εἴτε καὶ ἵπποισιν, ταῦτά κε πάντα λάχοι
 οὐκ ἔων ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγὼ· ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων
 ἀνδρῶν ἡδ' ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη.
 ἀλλ' εἰκῇ μάλα τοῦτο νομίζεται, οὐδὲ δίκαιον
 προκρίνειν ῥώμην τῆς ἀγαθῆς σοφίης·
 15 οὔτε γὰρ εἰ πύκτης ἀγαθὸς λαοῖσι μετεΐη
 οὔτ' εἰ πενταθλεῖν οὔτε παλαισμοσύνην,
 οὐδὲ μὲν εἰ ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν, τόπερ ἐστὶ
 πρότιμον,
 ῥώμης ὅσσ' ἀνδρῶν ἔργ' ἐν ἀγῶνι πέλει,
 τούνεκεν ἂν δὴ μᾶλλον ἐν εὐνομίῃ πόλις εἴη·
 20 σμικρὸν δ' ἂν τι πόλει χάρμα γένοιτ' ἐπὶ τῷ,
 εἴ τις ἀεθλεύων νικῶ Πίσαιο παρ' ὄχθας·
 οὐ γὰρ πιαίνει ταῦτα μυχοὺς πόλεως.

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ Ξενοφάνης κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 σοφίαν ἐπαγωνίζεται, διαβάλλων ὡς ἄχρηστον καὶ
 ἀλυσιτελὲς τὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεως εἶδος.

3 ῥοὰς Schneidewin (cl. v. 21), prob. Gent.-Pr. 5 εἴτε τὸ
 Wakefield, εἴτέτι cod. 6 προσεραν cod., corr. Jacobs
 10 κ' εἰπάντα cod., corr. Schweighäuser 15 λαοῖσιν ἔτ' εἴη
 cod., corr. Stephanus

XENOPHANES

in wrestling or engaging in painful boxing or in that terrible contest which they call the pankration,³ he would have greater renown (than others) in the eyes of his townsmen, he would gain a conspicuous front seat at the games, he would have food from the public store granted by the city, and a gift which would be a treasure for him—or if (he were to gain a victory) even with his horses, he would obtain all these things, although he is not as deserving as I. For my expertise⁴ is better than the strength of men or horses. But this custom is quite irrational and it is not right to give strength precedence over good expertise. For neither if there were a good boxer among the people nor one good at the pentathlon or in wrestling or again in the swiftness of his feet, the most honoured of the deeds of human strength in the contest, would there for that reason be better law and order in the city. Little would be the city's joy, if one were to win while contending by the banks of Pisa; for this does not fatten the city's treasury.

Xenophanes makes many other contentions with regard to his own wisdom, criticizing the idea of athleticism as useless and unprofitable.

¹ The pentathlon involved running, jumping, throwing the discus, throwing the javelin, and wrestling.

² Presumably the river Alpheus. Pisa was a town near Olympia.

³ A combination of wrestling and boxing.

⁴ The precise meaning of σοφίη is uncertain. My preference is to see in it both poetic skill and the wise content of his verses.

3 Ath. 12.526a

Κολοφώνιοι δέ, ὥς φησι Φύλαρχος (FGrHist 81 F 66),
τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντες σκληροὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς, ἐπεὶ εἰς
τρυφὴν ἐξώκειλαν πρὸς Λυδοὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμα-
χίαν ποιησάμενοι, προήεσαν διησκημένοι τὰς κόμας
χρυσῷ κόσμῳ, ὥς καὶ Ξενοφάνης φησὶν·

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,
ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς,
ῥέσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες,
οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χεῖλιοι εἰς ἐπίπαν,
5 αὐχαλέοι, χαίτησιν †ἀγαλλομεν εὐπρεπέεσσιν,
ἀσκητοῖς ὁδμὴν κρίμασι δευόμενοι.

οὕτω δὲ ἐξελύθησαν διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον μέθην ὥστε τινὲς
αὐτῶν οὔτε ἀνατέλλοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὔτε δυόμενον
ἑωράκασιν. . . . Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ
ἱστοριῶν (FGrHist 115 F 117) χιλίους φησὶν ἄνδρας
αὐτῶν ἀλουργεῖς φοροῦντας στολὰς ἀστυπολεῖν, ὃ δὴ
καὶ βασιλεῦσιν σπάνιον τότε ἦν καὶ περισπούδαστον.

1 ἀφροσύνας cod., corr. Schneider 2 ἦσαννευ cod.,
corr. Dindorf 4 χίλιοι cod., corr. Hiller ὥς pro εἰς
Schweighäuser, prob. West 5 χαιτισιν cod., corr. Musurus
ἀγαλλόμεν' Casaubon 6 κρίμασι cod., corr. Musurus

cf. Cic. *de rep.* 6.2 *ut, quemadmodum scribit ille, cotidiano in
forum mille hominum cum pallis conchylio tinctis descenderent.*

XENOPHANES

3 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Although the Colophonians, as Phylarchus says, were originally austere in their ways, when they became friends and allies of the Lydians and drifted into a soft life, they would go forth with their hair decked out with gold ornaments, as Xenophanes also says:

And having learned useless luxury from the Lydians, while they were free of hateful tyranny,¹ they used to go to the agora² wearing robes all of purple, no fewer than a thousand³ as a rule, proud and exulting(?)⁴ in the splendour of their hair, drenched with the scent of the most refined unguents.

And they were so dissolute because of untimely drinking that some of them saw neither the rising nor the setting sun. . . . And Theopompus in the fifteenth book of his *Histories* says that a thousand of them frequented the city wearing purple robes, a colour which then was rare even for kings and was much sought after.

¹ Presumably that inflicted by the Medes in the 540s.

² It is unclear whether this means place of assembly or marketplace.

³ Either a ruling aristocracy or simply a large number of rich Colophonians.

⁴ Casaubon's reading is syntactically sound, but the elision of -οι is unparalleled, though perhaps not impossible. Various emendations have been suggested in order to introduce a reference to the gold ornaments mentioned in the source.

Cicero, *On the State*: "so that, as he (Phylarchus) writes, every day a thousand men went down into the forum in robes dyed with purple."

ELEGIAC POETRY

4 Pollux 9.83

. . . εἴτε Φείδων πρῶτος ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἔκοψε νόμισμα . . .
εἴτε Λυδοὶ καθά φησι Ξενοφάνης, εἴτε κτλ.

5 Ath. 11.782a

ἔθος δὲ ἦν πρότερον ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλεσθαι, μεθ' ὃ τὸν οἶνον. Ξενοφάνης·

οὐδέ κεν ἐν κύλικι πρότερον κεράσειέ τις οἶνον
ἐγχεάς, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ καὶ καθύπερθε μέθυ.

2 ἐγχεύας cod., corr. Casaubon

6 Ath. 9.368e

καὶ Ξενοφάνης δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις
φησί·

πέμψας γὰρ κωλὴν ἐρίφου σκέλος ἦραο πῖον
ταύρου λαρινοῦ, τίμιον ἀνδρὶ λαχεῖν
τοῦ κλέος Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀφίξεται, οὐδ'
ἀπολήξει,
ἔστ' ἂν ἀοιδάων ἧ γένος Ἑλλαδικόν.

4 Ἑλλαδικῶν C p.c.

7 Diog. Laert. 8.36

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτε ἄλλον αὐτὸν (Πυθαγόραν) γεγε-

XENOPHANES

4 Pollux, *Vocabulary*

... whether Pheidon of Argos was the first to strike coinage
... or the Lydians, as Xenophanes says,¹ or

¹ Some consider the source of this statement to have been an elegy in view of the reference to Lydians in fr. 3.

5 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

It was the custom to put water in the cup first and after that the wine. Cf. Xenophanes:

And no one would mix wine by pouring it in the cup first, but the water first and on top of it the wine.

6 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

And Xenophanes of Colophon also says in his elegiac verses:

For although you sent the thigh bone of a kid, you won the fat leg of a fatted bull, a thing of honour to fall to a man whose¹ fame will spread over the whole of Greece and will not die, so long as the Grecian form of song exists.

¹ It is unclear whether "whose" refers to the man or to the fat leg of a bull. Perhaps the poet is satirizing an athlete whose sacrifice prior to the games was much inferior to the reward he received by his victory, and yet his fame will be celebrated in song throughout the land. If so, the verses bear a certain resemblance to fr. 2.

7 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

That Pythagoras had been a different person at different

ELEGIAC POETRY

νήσθαι Ξενοφάνης ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ προσμαρτυρεῖ, ἧς ἀρχή·

Νῦν αὖτ' ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ κέλευθον

νῦν οὖν τ' codd., corr. Stephanus

7a Pergit Diogenes

ὁ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως ἔχει·

καί ποτέ μιν στυφελιζομένου σκύλακος παριόντα
φασὶν ἐποικτεῖραι καὶ τόδε φάσθαι ἔπος·

“παῦσαι, μηδὲ ράπιζ”, ἐπεὶ ἡ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶν
ψυχὴ, τὴν ἔγνω φθεγξαμένης αἰών.”

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ξενοφάνης.

2 ἐποικτεῖραι codd., corr. Fick
αἰών cet.

4 αἰών Diog. cod. B,

8 Diog. Laert. 9.18-19

μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτός φησιν·

ἤδη δ' ἐπτά τ' ἔασι καὶ ἐξήκοντ' ἐνιαυτοὶ

βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα γῆν·
ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότε ἦσαν ἐείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς τοῖς,
εἵπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ' οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.

¹ The precise meaning of ἐμὴν φροντίδα is disputed. Some prefer “my counsel,” others “my cares,” and the words have also

XENOPHANES

times is attested by Xenophanes in an elegy whose beginning is:

Now I will move on to yet another tale and I will
show the way

7a Diogenes continues

What he says about Pythagoras is as follows:

And they say that once, as he was passing by a puppy
being beaten, he felt pity and spoke these words:
“Stop, don’t beat him, since in truth it is the soul of a
friend; I recognized it when I heard him yelp.”¹

These are the words of Xenophanes.

¹ It is unclear whether Xenophanes is mocking the Pythagorean belief in the transmigration of souls as such or simply the idea that one could recognize a soul from the yelping of a dog.

8 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

Xenophanes lived a very long life, as he himself states somewhere:

Three score years and seven have now been tossing
my thoughts¹ throughout the land of Greece,² and
from my birth until then there were five and twenty
years³ in addition to these, if in fact I know how to
speak truly about these things.

been explained as a periphrastic equivalent of “myself.”

² Most of his adult life seems to have been spent in Magna Graecia (see test. 1).

³ It is usually assumed that he left Colophon at age 25 when the Medes captured the city in the 540s (cf. fr.3.2).

ELEGIAC POETRY

9 *Et. Gen.* (p. 21 Calame) = *Et. Mag.* 230.57, ex Herodiano (ii.266.7 Lentz)

ἔστι δὲ πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα συζυγία τὸ γηρᾶς,
ὥσπερ τὸ πιμπλᾶς, οἷον πιμπλῶ πιμπλᾶς καὶ πιμπλῶ
πιμπλεῖς, οἷον “†τὰς Ῥαδάμανθους πιμπλεῖν βίαν†” (fr.
adesp. 969 *PMG*). οὕτως οὖν καὶ γηρῶ γηρᾶς . . . καὶ
γηρῶ γηρεῖς . . . ἢ μετοχὴ γηρεῖς, “γηρεῖς ἐν οἰκίοισι”
(fr. adesp. iamb. 4). ἢ γενικὴ γηρέντος ὥσπερ τιθέντος.
Ξενοφάνης (Ξενοφῶν codd., corr. Sylburg), οἷον

ἀνδρὸς γηρέντος πολλὸν ἀφαιρότερος

XENOPHANES

9 *Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum*

The verb γηρῶ (2nd sing. γηρᾶς), 'grow old,' belongs to both the first and the second conjugation, like πιμπλῶ, 'fill,' which has both πιμπλᾶς and πιμπλεῖς, as in (fragment corrupt). Similarly then γηρῶ which has both γηρᾶς . . . and γηρεῖς . . . The participle is γηρεῖς, "growing old in the house." The genitive is γηρέντος like τιθέντος. Cf. Xenophanes:

much feebler than a man of advanced age

ASIUS

14 Ath. 3.125b-e

“οὐ γὰρ μέλει σοι,” ἔφη ὁ Μυρτίλος, “ἱστορίας, ὦ γάστρων. κνισολοιχὸς γάρ τις εἶ <καὶ> (add. Casaubon) κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον {καὶ} (del. Casaubon) κνισοκόλαξ . . .” πiónτος οὖν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐζήτει ὁ Οὐλπιανός· “ποῦ κείται ὁ κνισολοιχὸς καὶ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου ἔπη τὰ περὶ τοῦ κνισοκόλακος;” “τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀσίου,” ἔφη ὁ Μυρτίλος, “ἔπη ταῦτ’ ἐστι·

χωλός, στιγματίης, πολυγήραος, ἴσος ἀλήτη
ἦλθε κνισοκόλαξ, εὔτε Μέλῃς ἐγάμει,
ἄκλητος, ζωμοῦ κεχρημένος· ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν
ἦρως εἰστήκει βορβόρου ἐξαναδύς.

ὁ δὲ κνισολοιχός” κτλ.

4 ἦρως³ Blaydes

¹ See C. P. Jones, “Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity,” *JRS* 77 (1987) 139-55. He assumes the tattoo here marks a “slave, or perhaps criminal” (p. 147). ² I.e.,

one who fawns or flatters so as to be fed fat meat, a parasite.

³ A perplexing fragment. Is Meles the river, who in some sources was said to be Homer’s father? Is the hero the fat-flatterer or

ASIOUS

Asius of Samos, perhaps to be dated to the 6th century, is primarily known as an epic poet. For the testimonia and epic fragments see A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* i.127-31, or M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 88-91. The testimonia tell us nothing about the man except that his father was Amphiptolemus (Paus. 2.6.3, 7.4.1).

14 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

"That's because you have no interest in history, you glutton," Myrtilus replied. "For you are a fat-licker and, as Asius, that Samian poet of old, puts it, a fat-flatterer. . . ." And so, after Myrtilus had had a drink, Ulpian asked again: "Where is 'fat-licker' found and what are the verses of Asius about the 'fat-flatterer'?" "The verses of Asius," Myrtilus replied, "are as follows:

Lame, tattooed,¹ aged, like a beggar came the fat-flatterer,² uninvited and in need of soup, when Meles was getting married; and in their midst he stood, a hero risen from the mud.³

And 'fat-licker'" etc.

Meles or is there a suppressed comparison, "like a hero," or should Blaydes' slight emendation be adopted, "in the midst of the heroes"? See G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (London 1969) 97, and L. Edmunds, *HSCP* 85 (1981) 230.

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

TESTIMONIA

1 Plut. *Nic.* 5.2-3

καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγωδῶν καὶ συμπεριτιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν Ἱέρων ἦν, ἀνὴρ τεθραμμένος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ Νικίου περί τε γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν ἐξησκημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προσποιούμενος δ' υἱὸς εἶναι Διονυσίου τοῦ Χαλκοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, οὗ καὶ ποιήματα σφύζεται, καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἀποικίας ἡγεμὼν γενόμενος ἔκτισε Θουρίους.

2 Phot. *lex.* (i.282 Naber)

Θουριομάντεις. τοὺς περὶ Λάμπωνα· τὴν γὰρ εἰς Σύβαριν ἀποικίαν οἱ μὲν Λάμπωνι ἀνατιθέασιν, οἱ δὲ Ξενοκρίτῳ, οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδεῖ Διονυσίῳ . . .

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

TESTIMONIA

1 Plutarch, *Life of Nicias*

And the one who most of all aided him (Nicias) in acting this solemn role and in surrounding him with a cloak of self-important dignity was Hieron, a man who had been reared in the household of Nicias and thoroughly trained by him in letters and the liberal arts. He pretended to be the son of Dionysius called Chalcus (the Bronze), whose poems are in fact extant and who as leader of the colony sent to Italy founded Thurii.¹

¹Founded by Athens in 444/3 near the site of Sybaris. See A. Andrewes, *JHS* 98 (1978) 5-8.

2 Photius, *Lexicon*

Thurian seers.¹ Those with Lampon. For some ascribe the colony at Sybaris (i.e., Thurii) to Lampon, others to Xenocritus, others to Dionysius of Chalcis² . . .

¹ See Arist. *Clouds* 332 and schol. ad loc. (p. 82 Holwerda).

² Χαλκιδεῖ is presumably an error for Χαλκῶ (the Bronze).

ELEGIAC POETRY

3 Ath. 13.602b-c

ἔχρησεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαρίτωνα, προτάξας τοῦ ἑξαμέτρου τὸ πεντάμετρον, καθάπερ ὕστερον καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις.

4 Anon. in Arist. *Rhet.* 3.2.1405a32 (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* xxi(2).169.25)

Χαλκοῦν Διονύσιον λέγει τὴν Διονυσίου στήλην· οὗτος οὖν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις τοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένοις ἐν τῇ στήλῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν προσαγορεύει καὶ καλεῖ “κραυγὴν Καλλιόπης.”

FRAGMENTS

1-4 Ath. 15.668e-69e

μνημονεύει τῶν λατάγων καὶ τῶν κοττάβων καὶ ὁ Χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις διὰ τούτων·

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

3 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Apollo also gave an oracle concerning Chariton and those about him, placing the pentameter before the hexameter, just as was later done by the Athenian Dionysius, called Chalcus, in his elegies.¹

¹ Fr. 1 may be an example of this.

4 Anonymous on Aristotle, *Rhetoric*

By Dionysius the Bronze he means the gravestone of Dionysius. In the elegiac verses inscribed on his gravestone Dionysius calls his poetry "the scream of Calliope."¹

¹ See fr. 7. The commentator's explanation of Chalcus is improbable, although it is perhaps possible that the words were inscribed on his gravestone. Stephanus on the same passage of Aristotle (xxi(2).314.1) erroneously speaks of the gravestone of the tyrant Dionysius. Calliope is one of the nine Muses.

FRAGMENTS

1-4 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*¹

Dionysius called Chalcus (Bronze) mentions the wine drops and games of cottabus² in his elegies as follows:

¹ The number of poems represented by these fragments is unclear. ² The cottabus in its various forms involved basically the throwing of wine drops at a target and the player often dedicated his toss to someone with a view to amorous success. For further details see Athenaeus 11.487d-e, 15.665a-69e, and F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet* (Princeton 1987) 80-86, and cf. Critias fr. 2.

3

κότταβον ἐνθάδε σοι τρίτον ἐστάναι οἱ δυσέρωτες
 ἡμεῖς προστίθεμεν γυμνασίῳ Βρομίου
 κώρυκον. οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἐνείρετε χεῖρας ἅπαντες
 ἐς σφαίρας κυλίκων· καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνον ἰδεῖν,
 5 ὄμματι βηματίσασθε τὸν αἰθέρα τὸν κατακλινῇ,
 εἰς ὅσον αἱ λάταγες χωρίον ἐκτατέαι.

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἥτει πιεῖν μεγάλη κύλικι,
 ἐπιλέγων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλεγείων καὶ τόδε·

3 ἐνείρεται A, corr. Musurus 5 βηματίσασθε A, corr.
 Musurus κατὰ κλίνην v.l., editores plerique (κλίνης Sartori)
 6 ἐκτέταται A., corr. Bücheler, ἐντατέαι Borthwick

4

ὕμνους οἰνοχοεῖν ἐπιδέξια σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν·
 τόν τε σὸν ἀρχαῖον τηλεδαπόν τε φίλον
 εἰρεσίῃ γλώσσης ἀποπέμψομεν εἰς μέγαν αἶνον
 τοῦδ' ἐπὶ συμποσίου· δεξιότης τε λόγου

3

Thirdly we who are unhappy in love add a cottabus to take its stand in your honour here in the gymnasium of Bromius³ as a punching-bag. All you who are present entwine your hands in the thongs⁴ of the cups. And before you look at that,⁵ measure with your eyes the downward-sloping air,⁶ to determine the area over which the wine drops are to extend.⁷

Thereupon Ulpian asked for a drink from a large cup, adding the following from the same elegies:

³ Bromius = Dionysus and with the phrase "gymnasium of Bromius" we begin the comparison between symposium and athletics.

⁴ Leather thongs entwined round the fingers by boxers, so that we have a compendious way of saying: "entwine your fingers in the handles of the cups as you would in the thongs of boxing-gloves."

⁵ Probably some part of the cottabus apparatus and so, more loosely, the target, but various emendations have been suggested.

⁶ I.e., the trajectory of the tossed wine drops. Most editors read the variant *κατὰ κλίνην*, but it is hard to see how this could mean "down from the couch," unless Sartori's *κλίνης* is adopted.

⁷ The imagery now seems to move from boxing to javelin-throwing. On this and the fragment as a whole see especially E. K. Borthwick, *JHS* 84 (1964) 49-55, and P. A. Bernardini, *Nikephoros* 3 (1990) 127-32.

4

Pour a draught of songs from left to right for you and for us. With the oarage of our tongues we shall send off your longstanding friend from foreign parts to high praise at this symposium. The dexterity

ELEGIAC POETRY

5 Φαίακος Μουσῶν ἐρέτας ἐπὶ σέλματα πέμπει.

. . . πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κύνουλκος, αἰὲ τῷ Σύρῳ ἀντικορυσσόμενος καὶ οὐδέποτε τῆς φιλονικίας πανόμενος ἧς εἶχε πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ θόρυβος κατεῖχεν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἔφη· “τίς οὗτος ὁ τῶν συρβηνέων χορός; καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν μεμνημένος τινῶν ἐρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς βρενθύηται ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων τοῖς Ὀμηρίδαις μόνος ἀνασπάσας τὰ κοττάβεια,

2 τηλεπαδον A, corr. Casaubon

4 ἀπὸ Emperius

5 Φαίακας Casaubon

2

ἀγγελίας ἀγαθῆς δεῦρ' ἵτε πευσόμενοι,
καὶ κυλίκων ἔριδας διαλύσατε, καὶ κατάθεσθε
τὴν ξύνεσιν παρ' ἐμοί, καὶ τάδε μανθάνετε,

εἰς τὴν παρούσαν ζήτησιν ἐπιτήδεια ὄντα. . . .” καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος “ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ γώ,” φησὶν, “μνημονεύσω τῶν τοῦ Χαλκοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ ῥήτορος Διονυσίου—Χαλκοῦς δὲ προσηγορεύθη διὰ τὸ συμβουλευσαι Ἀθηναίοις χαλκῷ νομίσματι χρήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέγραψε Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥητορικῶν Ἀναγραφῇ (fr. 430 Pf.)—λέξω τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐλεγείων· σὺ δέ, ὦ Θεόδωρε (τοῦτο γάρ σου τὸ κύριον ὄνομα),

1 πευσόμενοι A, corr. Casaubon

DIONYSIUS CHALCUS

of Phaeax's⁸ words is sending the oarsmen of the Muses to the benches.

... In response to him Cynulcus, who was always taking up arms against the Syrian (i.e., Ulpian) and never stopped quarreling with him, said, when an uproar was spreading throughout the symposium, "What is this band of rowdies? I too will recall and recite some of these verses, so that Ulpian may not plume himself for being the only one to draw cottabus material from the stores of the Homeridae,"⁹

⁸ For Phaeax from the deme Acharnae see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971) 521-24, and J. D. Smart, *JHS* 92 (1972) 141-43. What follows seems to be nothing more than an ornate way of describing poetry. ⁹ Text and translation uncertain.

2

Come hither to hear the good news, put an end to the quarreling caused by the cups, think as I do,¹⁰ and learn the following,

since these verses are relevant to our present enquiry." ... And Democritus said: "But so that I too may recall the verses of the poet and politician Dionysius Chalcus—he was called Chalcus (Bronze) because he advised the Athenians to use bronze currency,¹¹ and Callimachus recorded this speech(?) in his *Register of Oratory*—I too will recite something from his elegies. And do you, Theodorus¹² (for this is your proper name),

¹⁰ Literally, "deposit your understanding with me."

¹¹ In 406 silver-plated bronze coins were minted in Athens because of the scarcity of silver. One year later these are mentioned

1

δέχου τήνδε προπινομένην
 τήν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποίησιν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπιδέξια πέμπω
 σοὶ πρώτῳ, Χαρίτων ἐγκεράσας χάριτας.
 καὶ σὺ λαβὼν τόδε δῶρον ἀοιδὰς ἀντιπρόπιθι,
 5 συμπόσιον κοσμῶν καὶ τὸ σὸν εὖ θέμενος.

5 Ath. 10.443d

ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη πάντων τούτων εἶναι τῶν δεινῶν
 μητρόπολιν τὸν οἶνον, δι' ὃν καὶ τὰς μέθας καὶ τὰς
 μανίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς παροινίας γίνεσθαι· οὗ τοὺς
 ἐκπαθῶς μεταλαμβάνοντας οὐ κακῶς ὁ Χαλκοῦς ἐπι-
 καλούμενος Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις “κυλίκων
 ἐρέτας” ἔφη·

καί τινες οἶνον ἄγοντες ἐν εἰρεσίᾳ Διονύσου,
 συμποσίου ναῦται καὶ κυλίκων ἐρέται,

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disparagingly by Aristophanes in *Frogs* 725 (τούτοις τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλκίοις). For a different explanation of why he was called Bronze see test. 4.

¹² Most assume that ὦ Θεόδωρε should be inserted at the beginning of v. 1 and that this was v. 1 of the poem. The latter assumption would result in the poem's opening with a pentameter, but this can be defended by test. 3. Theodorus is usually identified as the Theodorus who was implicated with Alcibiades in profaning the Eleusinian mysteries (Plut. *Alc.* 19), but it is a very common name. It may even be the real name of Cynulcus mentioned after fr. 4 in view of Ath. 15.692b (ὦ Κύνουλκε Θεόδωρε), in which case it should not be inserted in v. 1.

1

receive this poem pledged as a toast from me. I am sending it from left to right for you first, having mixed in the graces of the Graces.¹³ Do you take this gift and pledge me songs as a toast in return, adorning our symposium and enhancing your own reputation(?).

¹³ See B. MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace* (Princeton 1993) 83-84.

5 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Pontianus said that wine is the source of all these horrors and that as a result of it intoxication, acts of madness, and in addition drunken violence occur. Those who partake of wine with a passion are not ineptly described by Dionysius, called the Bronze, in his elegies as "oarsmen of cups":

And some carrying wine in the oarage of Dionysus,
sailors of the symposium and oarsmen of the cups,¹

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< > περὶ τοῦδε· τὸ γὰρ φίλον οὐκ
ἀπόλωλε.

3 <μάρνανται> et ὦκ' Hermann, <σπεύδουσιν> Ebert

6 Ath. 15.702b-c

ταῦτα, φίλτατε Τιμόκρατες, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα (*Epist.*
2.314c) οὐ “Σωκράτους νέου καὶ καλοῦ” παίγνια, ἀλλὰ
τῶν δειπνοσοφιστῶν σπουδάσματα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν
Χαλκοῦν Διονύσιον

τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν
ἢ καταπαυνομένοις ἢ τὸ ποθεινότατον;

1 ἀρχομένοις codd., corr. Casaubon

7 Arist. *Rhet.* 3.2.1405a31

ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἀμαρτία, ἐὰν μὴ
ἡδεΐας ἢ σημεῖα φωνῆς, οἷον Διονύσιος προσαγορεύει
ὁ Χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις “κραυγὴν Καλλιόπης”
τὴν ποίησιν, ὅτι ἄμφω φωναί, φαύλη δὲ ἡ μεταφορὰ
†ταῖς ἀσήμεοις φωναῖς.†

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(fight?) over this; for that which is dear does not die away.²

¹ For nautical imagery and the symposium see Lissarrague (n. 2 above) 107-22. ² This seems to mean that desire for wine never dies.

6 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

These things, dearest Timocrates, are not in Plato's words the light jests "of a young and handsome Socrates," but the serious pursuits of the scholars at dinner. For according to Dionysius Chalcus

At the beginning or the end what is better than that which is most desired?¹

¹ With this citation Athenaeus concludes his work. The first six words of the citation appear in Arist. *Knights* 1264-66, where the scholiast gives Pindar (fr. 89a) as the source. Eustathius on *Il.* 18.570 (iv.260.23 V.d.Valk) also quotes Dionysius' fragment (without naming the author) and calls it "proverbial."

7 Aristotle, *Rhetoric*

A fault also lies in the combination of letters if it does not represent a pleasing sound, as for instance in Dionysius Chalcus who in his elegies calls poetry

the scream of Calliope,

since although both words represent sounds,¹ the metaphor is in bad taste because . . .

¹ Calliope, one of the Muses, is literally 'the beautiful-voiced.' See test. 4.

EUENUS

TESTIMONIA

1 Harpocr. s.v. Εὐήνος (p. 116 Keaney)

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αὐτοκλέους (fr. 58 Blass). δύο ἀναγράφουσιν Εὐήνους ἐλεγείων ποιητὰς ὁμωνύμους ἀλλήλοις, καθάπερ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ χρονογραφιῶν (FGrHist 241 F 3), ἀμφοτέρους λέγων Παρίους εἶναι, γνωρίζεσθαι δέ φησι τὸν νεώτερον μόνον. μέμνηται δὲ θατέρου αὐτῶν καὶ Πλάτων.

2 Artem. onir. 1.4

τὸ ζῶον τὸ καλούμενον κάμηλος μέσους κάμπτει τοὺς μηροὺς ὑποτεμνόμενον τοῖν σκελοῖν τὸ ὕψος, ἐτύμως

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TESTIMONIA

1 Harpocration, *Lexicon of the Ten Attic Orators*

Euenus. Hyperides in the speech *Against Autocles* (c. 360). Two elegiac poets named Euenus are recorded, according to Eratosthenes in his work *On Annals* who says that they were both from Paros, but that only the younger was well-known. One of them is mentioned by Plato (see testt. 5-7).¹

¹ This is the only explicit reference to two poets named Euenus, apart from the *Suda* (ii.449.4 Adler) which simply repeats Harpocration. Jerome (p. 111.12 Helm) gives 460 as the floruit of an Euenus and if this is the same Euenus as Plato makes a contemporary of Socrates, he must have lived a very long life. The *Suda* (iv.726.26 Adler) states that the historian Philistus was a pupil of the elegiac poet Euenus and Philistus was born c. 430. There were also two or more poets named Euenus included in the *Greek Anthology* (see Gow-Page, *The Garland of Philip* ii.289) and one of the poems ascribed to Euenus is usually assigned to the 5th-cent. poet (see fr. 2).

2 Artemidorus, *Interpretation of Dreams*

The animal called camel (κάμηλος) bends its thighs in the middle, thereby reducing the height of its legs. The

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κεκλημένον κάμηλος οίονει *κάμμηρος, ὥς φησιν Εὐ-
ηνος ἐν τοῖς εἰς Εὐνομον ἐρωτικοῖς.

3 Epict. *diatr.* 4.9.6

καὶ τί, φησίν, ἀπολλύω;—Ἀνθρωπε, ὑπῆρχες αἰδή-
μων καὶ νῦν οὐκέτι εἶ· οὐδὲν ἀπολώλεκας; ἀντὶ Χρυ-
σίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος Ἀριστείδην ἀναγιγνώσκεις καὶ
Εὐηνον· οὐδὲν ἀπολώλεκας;

4 Auson. *cento nupt.* 10 (p. 168 Prete)

“lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba,” ut Martialis dicit
(1.4.8) . . . nam quid Anniani Fescenninos, quid antiquissi-
mi poetae Laevii Erotopaegnion libros loquar? quid Eue-
num, quem Menander sapientem vocavit (fr. 439 K.-A.)?
quid ipsum Menandrum? quid comicos omnes? quibus se-
vera vita est et laeta materia.

5 Pl. *Apol.* 20a-b

ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἐστι Πάριος ἐνθάδε σοφός, ὃν
ἐγὼ ἡσθόμην ἐπιδημοῦντα . . . “τίς τῆς τοιαύτης
ἀρετῆς, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, ἐπιστήμων
ἐστίν; . . . ἔστιν τις,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ἦ οὐ;” “πάνυ γε,” ἦ δ’

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camel derives its name from *κάμμηρος ('bent-thigh'), as Euenus says in his *Erotica* addressed to Eunomus.¹

¹ The etymology is nonsense, but there is evidence for the erotic writings of an Euenus. See the next two testimonia.

3 Epictetus, *Discourses*

And what, someone says, do I lose?—Fellow, you used to be modest and now you are no longer. Have you lost nothing? Instead of Chrysippus and Zeno you read Aristides and Euenus.¹ Have you lost nothing?

¹ Since the Aristides named is presumably the author (1st cent. B.C.) of the erotic *Milesian Tales*, Epictetus is referring to Euenus' erotic works. Wilamowitz, however, emended Εὐηνον to Εὐβιον: Eubius is mentioned along with Aristides in Ovid, *Tristia* 2.413-16. Chrysippus and Zeno were Stoic philosophers.

4 Ausonius, *Nuptial Cento*

"My page is wanton, but my life virtuous," as Martial says. . . . For what shall I say of the Fescennine verses of Annianus, what of the volumes of *Love Jests* by Laevius, that most ancient poet? What of Euenus, whom Menander called wise? What of Menander himself? What of the comic poets? They combined an austere life with humorous subject matter.

5 Plato, *Apology*

For there is also another wise man here, a Parian, who I learned was in town. . . . "Who is knowledgeable in such excellence, both the human and political kind? . . . Is there anyone," I said, "or not?" "Certainly," he said. "Who is he,"

ὅς. “τίς,” ἦν δ’ ἐγώ. “καὶ ποδαπός, καὶ πόσου διδάσκει;” “Εὖηνος,” ἔφη (scil. ὁ Καλλίας), “ὦ Σώκρατες, Πάριος, πέντε μνῶν.” καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν Εὖηνον ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχοι ταύτην τὴν τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμμελῶς διδάσκει.

6 Pl. *Phaed.* 60d

περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν πεποίηκας ἐντείνας τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω προοίμιον καὶ ἄλλοι τινές με ἤδη ἤρουντο, ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὖηνος πρῶην, ὃ τι ποτὲ διανοηθείς, ἐπειδὴ δεῦρο ἦλθες, ἐποίησας αὐτά, πρότερον οὐδὲν πώποτε ποιήσας. εἰ οὖν τί σοι μέλει τοῦ ἔχειν ἐμὲ Εὐήνῳ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅταν με αὖθις ἐρωτᾷ—εὖ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐρήσεται—εἰπὲ τί χρὴ λέγειν. “λέγε τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “αὐτῷ, ὦ Κέβης, τάληθῇ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκείνῳ βουλόμενος οὐδὲ τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι ἐποίησα ταῦτα—ἥδειν γὰρ ὡς οὐ ῥάδιον εἶη—ἀλλ’ . . .

7 Pl. *Phaedr.* 267a

τὸν δὲ κάλλιστον Πάριον Εὖηνον ἐς μέσον οὐκ ἄγομεν; ὃς ὑποδήλωσίν τε πρῶτος ἠΰρεν καὶ παρεπαίνους—οἱ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ παραψόγους φασὶν ἐν μέτρῳ λέγειν, μνήμης χάριν—· σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ.

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I said, "from what country does he come, and how much does he charge for teaching?" "He is Euenus, Socrates," Callias said, "he is from Paros, and he charges five minae." And I deemed Euenus blessed, if he should really have this skill and teaches so reasonably.

6 Plato, *Phaedo*

For some others have already asked about the poems which you composed, putting into verse the fables of Aesop and the prelude to Apollo, and just the other day Euenus asked what your purpose was in composing them after you came here (i.e., to prison), when you had never done so before. If then you care about my being able to answer Euenus when he asks me again—for I am sure that he will—say what I am to tell him. "Very well, Cebes," he said, "tell him the truth, that I did not compose these poems because I wanted to compete with him or his poems—for I know that it would not be easy—but . . ." ¹

¹Euenus is also mentioned several times in what immediately follows, but no new information about him is provided.

7 Plato, *Phaedrus*

Shall we not introduce the distinguished Parian, Euenus? He was the first to invent insinuation and incidental praise—and some say that he also put into verse, as an aid to memory, incidental censure; for he is a clever man. ¹

¹ These inventions indicate that Euenus employed an indirect method of praise and censure.

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8 Max. Tyr. 38.4 (p. 449.73 Koniaris)

καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ σοι (scil. ἡ Ἀσπασία τῷ Σωκράτει)
ἀρκεῖ διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ἐρανίζῃ παρὰ μὲν Διοτίμας τὰ
ἐρωτικά, παρὰ δὲ Κόννου τὰ μουσικά, παρὰ δὲ Εὐήνου
τὰ ποιητικά, παρὰ δὲ Ἰσχομάχου τὰ γεωργικά, παρὰ
τε Θεοδώρου τὰ γεωμετρικά.

9 Quint. 1.10.17

transeamus igitur id quoque, quod grammaticae quondam
ac musicae iunctae fuerunt, si quidem Archytas atque Eue-
nus etiam subiectam grammaticen musicae putaverunt, et
eosdem utriusque rei praeceptores fuisse cum Sophron (fr.
155 Kaibel) ostendit . . . tum Eupolis (frr. 17, 208 K.-A.) . . .

FRAGMENTS

1-8c. *Elegi*

1 Ath. 9.367d-e

σιωπῶντος οὖν τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ “ἀλλ' ἐγώ,” φησιν ὁ
Λεωνίδης, “εἰπεῖν εἰμι δίκαιος, πολλὰ ἤδη σιωπήσας.”

πολλοῖς δ' ἀντιλέγειν μέν,

“κατὰ τὸν Πάριον Εὐήνον,”

ἔθος περὶ παντὸς ὁμοίως,

ὀρθῶς δ' ἀντιλέγειν, οὐκέτι τοῦτ' ἐν ἔθει.

καὶ πρὸς μὲν τούτους ἀρκεῖ λόγος εἰς ὁ παλαιός·

“σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἔστω, ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε.”

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8 Maximus of Tyre, *Discourses*

And not even she (Aspasia) is a sufficient teacher for you (Socrates), but you receive as a contribution the erotic from Diotima, music from Connus, poetry from Euenus, agriculture from Ischomachus, and geometry from Theodorus.

9 Quintilian, *Principles of Oratory*

Let us therefore pass over this point too, that philology and music were once united, although in fact Archytas and also Euenus considered the former subordinate to the latter, and that the same were teachers of both is shown not only by Sophron . . . but also by Eupolis . . .

FRAGMENTS

1-8c. *Elegies*

1 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Since Ulpian had nothing to say, Leonides spoke up: "Having been silent for a long time now, I have a right to speak. As Euenus of Paros says":

Many are in the habit of contradicting on every point alike, but not in the habit of doing so in the right way. And as for them, one ancient saying is sufficient: "Let that be your opinion and this mine."

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- 5 τοὺς ξυνετοὺς δ' ἄν τις πείσειε τάχιστα λέγων εὖ,
οἷπερ καὶ ῥήστης εἰσὶ διδασκαλίας.

Stob. 2.2.10 (vv. 1-4)

Ath. 10.429f (v. 4)

- 1 δ' om. Stob. μὲν om. Ath. 2 τοῦτο ἐθέλει Ath.
3 τούτοις Ath. ὥς pro εἷς Stob. 4 μέντοι αὐτὰ Ath. 367
ἐστὶν Stob., ἐστ' Ath. 429 6 ῥάστης cod., corr. West
διδασκαλίας cod., corr. Jacobs

- 2 *Anth. Pal.* 11.49 Εὐήνου (Εὐίνου codd., corr. Jacobs)

Βάκχου μέτρον ἄριστον ὃ μὴ πολὺ μηδ'
ἐλάχιστον·

ἔστι γὰρ ἢ λύπης αἷτιος ἢ μανίης.

χαίρει κιρνάμενος δὲ τρισὶν Νύμφαισι τέταρτος·
τῆμος καὶ θαλάμοις ἐστὶν ἐτοιμότατος.

- 5 εἰ δὲ πολὺς πνεύσειεν, ἀπέστραπται μὲν ἔρωτας,
βαπτίζει δ' ὕπνῳ, γείτονι τοῦ θανάτου.

Anth. Plan. (sine poetae nomine)

- 3 κιρνάμενος τρισὶ νύμφαις τέταρτος αὐτός *Plan.*
5 ἀπέστραι *Pal.* 6 τοῦ *Plan.*, τῷ *Pal.*

- 3 Stob. 2.15.4 Ζήνου (Εὐήνου Bach, Ζηνοδότου Gaisford)

ἡγοῦμαι σοφίης εἶναι μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον
ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν οἷος ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ.

1 σοφίας cod., corr. Usener

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One can very quickly persuade men of sense by words well spoken, for they are the easiest to teach.

2 *Palatine Anthology*

From Euenus:

The best measure of Bacchus is that which is neither large, nor very small, for he is the cause either of grief or of madness.¹ He delights in being mixed as the fourth with three Nymphs;² then he's most ready for the bedroom.³ But if he should blow with gale force, he turns his back on love and plunges one into sleep, the neighbour of death.

¹ The meaning seems to be that a very small amount of wine is inadequate to dispel grief, while a large amount brings on madness. I have attempted to explain the imagery and language in *Mnemosyne* 41 (1988) 39-45. ² I.e., one part of wine to three of water. ³ I.e., for sexual activity.

3 *Stobaeus, Anthology*

From Euenus(?):

I consider that a correct understanding of each man's character is not the least part of wisdom.

ELEGIAC POETRY

4 Stob. 4.10.5 Εὐήνου

πρὸς σοφίῃ μὲν ἔχειν τόλμαν μάλα σύμφoron
ἐστιν,
χωρὶς δὲ βλαβερή, καὶ κακότητα φέρει.

1 σοφία cod. M, corr. West: σοφίαν SA

5 Stob. 3.20.2 Εὐήνου

πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὀργὴ νόον ἐξεκάλυψεν
κρυπτόμενον· μανίης πουλὺ χειριότερον.

2 μανίας codd., corr. West πολὺ χειρότερον codd., corr.
Turnebus: <ῆ> πολὺ χειρ. dub. West

6 Plut. *de amore prolis* 4.497a

ὥστε ἐπαινέισθαι καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι τοῦ Εὐήνου
τοῦτο μόνον, ὥς ἐπέγραψεν·

ἡ δέος ἡ λύπη παῖς πατρὶ πάντα χρόνον.

Artem. *onir.* 1.15; Hermias in Pl. *Phaedr.* 267a (p. 238.7
Couvreur); Macar. 4.38 (*Paroem. Gr.* ii.170.14)

φόβος et πάντα βίον Hermias

7 Ps.-Arist. π. ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν 7.1251a30 (= Stob. 3.1.194)

ἀδικίας δὲ ἐστιν εἶδη τρία, ἀσέβεια πλεονεξία ὕβρις.
. . . ὕβρις δέ, καθ' ἣν τὰς ἡδονὰς αὐτοῖς παρα-

EUENUS

4 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Euenus:

It is a great advantage to have daring combined with wisdom, but daring apart from wisdom is harmful and brings misery.

5 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Euenus:

Often men's anger uncovers their hidden mind; that is much worse than madness.

6 Plutarch, *On Affection for Offspring*

As a result this alone of Euenus is praised and remembered, when he wrote:

For the father a child is a constant source either of fear or of grief.

7 Pseudo-Aristotle, *On Virtues and Vices*

There are three kinds of wrongdoing: impiety, greed, and outrage. . . . Outrage is the wrongdoing whereby men pro-

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σκευάζουσιν εἰς ὄνειδος ἄγοντες ἑτέρους· ὅθεν καὶ
Εὐηνος περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει·

ἥτις κερδαίνουσ' οὐδὲν ὅμως ἀδικεῖ.

8 Arist. *Metaph.* 4.5.1015a28

τὸ γὰρ βίαιον ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται, διὸ καὶ λυπηρόν,
ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐηνός φησι·

πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πρῆγμ' ἀνιηρόν ἔφυ.

Plut. *non posse suav. viv. sec. Epic.* 21.1102c; Theogn. 472

πρᾶγμ' Arist., Plut., corr. Winterton: χρῆμ' Theogn.
ἀνιηρόν Plut. v.l., Theogn.: ἀνιαρόν Arist.: ὀδυνηρόν Plut. v.l.

8a = Theogn. 467-96

8b = Theogn. 667-82

8c = Theogn. 1341-50

9. Hexametri

9 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 7.10.1152a30

διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἔθος χαλεπόν, ὅτι τῇ φύσει
ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐηνος λέγει·

φημὶ πολυχρόνιον μελέτην ἔμεναι, φίλε, καὶ δὴ
ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτῶσαν φύσιν εἶναι.

EUENUS

cure pleasures for themselves while leading others into disgrace. Consequently Euenus says about it:

(outrage) which brings no profit and nevertheless
does wrong

8 Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

For that which is forced is said to be constraining, and therefore painful, as Euenus states:

For every act of constraint is painful.¹

¹ See n. 1 on Theognis 467-96. Plutarch also assigns the verse to Euenus, while other sources cite it without naming the author.

9. *Dactylic Hexameters*

9 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

For this reason habit is difficult (to change), because it resembles nature, as Euenus states:

My friend, I say that it is a long-standing practice
and that this is in the end men's nature.

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9a. Trimeter

9a Simpl. in Arist. *Phys.* 4.221a31 (*Comm. in Arist. Gr.* ix.741.1)

ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης (fr. 645 PMG) τὸ σοφώτατον τῷ χρόνῳ περιῆψε, τούτῳ γὰρ ἔφη πάντας εὕρίσκειν καὶ μανθάνειν, <Πάρων δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος τὸ ἀμαθέστατον, ὅτι ἐπιλανθάνονται ὑπὸ χρόνου> (suppl. Diels e Simplicio infra citato). Εὐηνος δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πεποίηκε τὸ

σοφώτατόν τοι καμαθέστατον χρόνος.

χρόνον codd., corr. Diels

10. Incerti Metri

10 Plut. *quaest. Plat.* 10.3.1010c

“τί οὖν;” φῆσαι τις ἄν, “οὐδὲν ταῦτα συμβάλλεται πρὸς λόγον;” ἔγωγε φήσαιμι ἄν, ὥσπερ ἄλας συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ὄψον, ὕδωρ δὲ πρὸς μᾶζαν· Εὐηνος δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔφασκεν ἡδυσμάτων εἶναι κράτιστον· ἀλλ’ οὐθ’ ὕδωρ μάζης ἢ ἄρτου μέρος εἶναι λέγομεν, οὔτε πῦρ οὐθ’ ἄλας ἐψήματος ἢ βρώματος.

EUENUS

9a. Iambic Trimeter

9a Simplicius on Aristotle, *Physics*

Simonides made time the wisest thing, since he said that by means of this everyone discovers and learns, <but Paron the Pythagorean said it was the most stupid, since people forget because of this>. And Euenus combined the two to make:

The wisest and most stupid thing is time.

10. Uncertain Meter

10 Plutarch, *Platonic Questions*

"Well, then," one might say, "do these things contribute nothing to speech?" I for my part should say that they do, just as salt contributes to a dish and water to barley bread. And Euenus even claimed that fire was the best of seasonings.¹ But we do not say that water is a part of barley bread or wheat bread or that fire or salt is a part of vegetables or meat.

¹ This same saying is attributed to Euenus in Plut. *quomodo adulator internosc.* 2.50a and *quaest. conv.* 7 praef. 697c-d, but in *de tuenda san.* 8.126c-d it is attributed to Prodicus (84 B 10 D.-K.).

CRITIAS

TESTIMONIA

1 Diog. Laert. 3.1

Πλάτων Ἀρίστωνος καὶ Περικτιόνης—ἡ Πωτώνης—
ἣτις τὸ γένος ἀνέφερεν εἰς Σόλωνα, Ἀθηναῖος. τούτου
γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Δρωπίδης, οὗ Κριτίας, οὗ Κάλ-
λαισχος, οὗ Κριτίας ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ Γλαύκων,
οὗ Χαρμίδης καὶ Περικτιόνη, ἥς καὶ Ἀρίστωνος
Πλάτων, ἕκτος ἀπὸ Σόλωνος.

2 Io. Philop. in Arist. *de anima* 1.405b5 (*Comm. in Arist.* *Gr.* xv.89.8)

Κριτίαν εἶτε τὸν ἓνα τῶν τριάκοντα, ὃς καὶ Σωκράτους
ἠκροάσατο, ἡ καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ λέγει, οὐδὲν διαφερό-
μεθα. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον Κριτίαν γεγονέναι σο-

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TESTIMONIA

Most of the testimonia on Critias pertain to his political career, association with Socrates, prose style, or moral character and are therefore omitted here. All the testimonia are printed in *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (as well as in Gentili-Prato) and are translated by D. N. Levin in R. K. Sprague (ed.), *The Older Sophists* (Columbia, S.C. 1972) 242-49. See also Archilochus test. 33 and Solon fr. 22a.

1 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

Plato, the Athenian, was the son of Ariston and Perictione (or Potone), who traced her family back to Solon. For Solon's brother Dropides was the father of Critias who was the father of Callaeschrus. His sons were Critias, a member of the thirty (tyrants), and Glaucon, the father of Charmides and Perictione. Plato, the son of Perictione and Ariston, was in the sixth generation after Solon.

2 John Philoponus on Aristotle, *On the Soul*

It makes no difference to us whether Aristotle means Critias, one of the thirty (tyrants), who also listened to Socrates, or someone else. They say that there was also

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φιστήν, οὐ καὶ τὰ φερόμενα συγγράμματα εἶναι, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος λέγει· τὸν γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα μηδὲ γεγραφέναι ἄλλο τι πλὴν Πολιτείας ἐμμέτρους.

3 Ath. 4.184d

ἔμελεν δὲ τοῖς πάλαι πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι μουσικῆς· διόπερ καὶ ἡ αὐλητικὴ περισπούδαστος ἦν. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Προτρεπτικῷ (fr. 3 Wehrli) Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶ καὶ Θηβαίους πάντας αὐλεῖν μαρθάνειν, Ἡρακλεώτας τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔτι, Ἀθηναίων τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Καλλίαν τε τὸν Ἰππονίκου καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν Καλ-
λαίσχρον.

4 Mall. Theod. *de metris* (Gramm. Lat. vi.589.20 Keil)

metrum dactylicum hexametrum inventum primitus ab Orpheo Critias asserit, Democritus (68 B 16 D.-K.) a Musaeo.

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another Critias, a sophist and author of the writings in question, as Alexander states. For the member of the thirty has not written anything except the *Well-balanced Constitutions*.¹

¹ Or possibly "*Constitutions in verse*." Critias was the author of a *Constitution of the Thessalians* (88 B 31 D.-K.) and of the *Spartans* (B 32-37), but these were in prose. There is no evidence to support the claim of a second Critias.

3 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

All the Greeks of old cared about music and hence they showed much zeal for pipe-playing. At any rate Chamaeleon of Heraclea in his *Hortatory Treatise*, as it is called, states that the Spartans and Thebans all learned to play the pipe and that the inhabitants of Heraclea on the Pontus still do individually, while among the Athenians the most conspicuous were Callias, the son of Hipponicus, and Critias, the son of Callaeschrus.

4 Mallius Theodorus, *On Meters*

Critias asserts that the dactylic hexameter was invented originally by Orpheus,¹ Democritus by Musaeus.

¹ Diels-Kranz printed this as fr. 3, but there is no reason to assume that the statement occurred in an elegy.

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FRAGMENTS

1. *Hexametri*

1 Ath. 13.600d-e

ὦν (sc. Ἔρωτα) ὁ σοφὸς ὕμνων αἰεὶ ποτε Ἀνακρέων
πᾶσιν ἔστιν διὰ στόματος. λέγει οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ
κράτιστος Κριτίας τάδε·

τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ὦδ' ἄς
ἡδὺν Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνήγεν,
συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἡπερόπευμα,
αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἡδύν, ἄλυπον.
5 οὐ ποτέ σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανεῖται,
ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνω συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσιν
παῖς διαπομπεύῃ, προπόσεις ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν,
παννυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,
πλάστιγξ θ' ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι
καθίζῃ

10 κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς κορυφαῖς Βρομίου
ψακάδεσσιν;

5 ποτε τοῦ Hermann 7 πρόποσιν E, -σις A, corr.
Musurus 10 ὑψηλὴ Wilamowitz

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FRAGMENTS

1. Dactylic Hexameters

1 *Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner*

Skilled Anacreon who is on the lips of everyone once constantly sang of Eros. Hence mighty Critias says the following about him:

Teos brought to Greece the one who once wove songs with strains celebrating women, sweet Anacreon,¹ stimulus for symposia, seducer of women, opponent of the pipes, lover of the lyre, sweet, banisher of pain. Never will love of you grow old or perish, so long as a slave boy carries round water mixed with wine for the cups, dispensing toasts to the right, and female choruses conduct sacred all-night festivities, and the scale-pan, daughter of bronze, sits on the high and lofty top of the cottabus² for the drops of Bromius.³

¹ For the poetry of Anacreon see Campbell's Loeb edition, *Greek Lyric* ii.22 ff. According to the scholiast on Aesch. *PV* 128a (p. 93 Herington) Anacreon spent time in Athens "out of love for Critias" (Κριτίου ἐρῶν), i.e., the grandfather of our Critias.

² For the cottabus and its apparatus see n. 2 on Dion. Chal. fr. 3.

³ Another name for Dionysus and standing here for wine.

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2-9. *Elegi*

2 Ath. 1.28b-c

Κριτίας δὲ οὕτως·

κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθονός, ἐκπρεπὲς ἔργον,
ὃν σκοπὸν ἐς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα.
εἶτα δ' ὄχος Σικελὸς κάλλει δαπάνη τε κράτιστος

.....

Θεσσαλικὸς δὲ θρόνος γνίων τρυφερωτάτῃ ἔδρα.

5 εὐναίου δὲ λέχους †κάλλος† ἔχει

Μίλητός τε Χίος τ' ἔναλος πόλις Οἰνοπίωνος.

Τυρσηνὴ δὲ κρατεῖ χρυσότυπος φιάλη,
καὶ πᾶς χαλκὸς ὅστις κοσμεῖ δόμον ἔν τινι χρείᾳ.

Φοίνικες δ' ἡὔρον γράμματ' ἀλεξίλογα.

10 Θήβη δ' ἄρματόεντα δίφρον συνεπήξατο πρώτη,
φορτηγοὺς δ' ἀκάτους Κᾶρες ἀλὸς ταμίαι.

τὸν δὲ τροχοῦ γαίας τε καμίνου τ' ἔκγονον ἡὔρεν

κλεινότατον κέραμον, χρήσιμον οἰκονόμον,

ἢ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι καταστήσασα τρόπαιον.

καὶ ἐπαινεῖται ὧντως ὁ Ἀττικὸς κέραμος.

Ath. 15.666b (vv. 1-2)

Eust. in Hom. Od. 1771.45 (vv. 9 + 11)

3 σικελικὸς καλλι codd., corr. Musurus, Casaubon

4 γνω codd., corr. Musurus

5 <ἔξοχα> κάλλος Musurus,

κάλλ<εῖ κῦδ>ος Kalinka, alii alia

8 ὅστις codd., corr.

Musurus

12 τροχὸν codd. (rec. West), corr. Casaubon

τὲ γόνον codd., corr. Musurus

14 μαραθῶν(ος) codd., corr.

Musurus

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2-9. *Elegies*

2 *Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner*

And Critias speaks as follows:¹

From the land of Sicily comes the cottabus,² a remarkable achievement; we set it up as a target for shafts of wine drops. Next, a Sicilian wagon is the most beautiful and expensive . . .³ A Thessalian chair is the most comfortable seat for the limbs. Miletus and Chios, Oenopian's⁴ city by the sea, are famed(?) for the beauty of the marriage bed.⁵ The Etruscan bowl of beaten gold prevails, and all the bronze that adorns a house for any use. Phoenicians invented letters as a means of preserving discourse. Thebes was the first to construct the carriage for a chariot, and Carians, stewards of the sea, cargo vessels.⁶ And she that set up the beautiful trophy at Marathon⁷ invented the offspring of wheel, earth, and oven, pottery of highest fame, a useful housekeeper.

And Attic pottery is truly praised.

¹ Athenaeus 1.27d-28d includes this passage among several which list the chief products of a particular place. ² See n. 2 on Dion. Chal. fr. 3.

³ Perhaps only a pentameter is missing.

⁴ In 1.26b-c Athenaeus, on the authority of Theopompus, states that Oenopian was a son of Dionysus, founded the island-state, and was the first to teach viticulture. See Ion fr. 29 (*Greek Lyric* iv.365). ⁵ Or perhaps simply "bed for sleeping."

⁶ For the Carians as seafarers see Gomme on Thuc. 1.8.

⁷ I.e., Athens.

3 = test. 4

4 Hephaest. *Ench.* 2.3

ἡ δύο βραχεῖαι εἰς μίαν βραχεῖαν, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς
ἄλλοις εὐρίσκεται μέτροις . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔπεσι
σπανίως· ὥστε Κριτίας ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐλεγείᾳ
οὐκ ᾔετο ἐγχωρεῖν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ ὄνομα· φησὶ
γάρ·

καὶ νῦν Κλεινίου νιόν Ἀθηναῖον στεφανώσω
Ἀλκιβιάδην νέοισιν ὑμνήσας τρόποις·
οὐ γάρ πως ἦν τοῦνομ' ἐφαρμόζειν ἐλεγείῳ,
νῦν δ' ἐν ἱαμβείῳ κείσεται οὐκ ἀμέτρως.

1 Ἀθηναίου v.l.

5 Plut. *Alcib.* 33.1

τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα τῆς καθόδου πρότερον ἐκεκύρωτο
Κριτίου τοῦ Καλλαίσχρου γράψαντος, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐν
ταῖς ἐλεγείαις πεποίηκεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τὸν Ἀλκι-
βιάδην τῆς χάριτος ἐν τούτοις·

γνώμην δ' ἣ σε κατήγαγ', ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅπασιν
εἶπον, καὶ γράψας τοῦργον ἔδρασα τόδε,
σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώσσης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι
κεῖται.

1 γνώμη cod. Y (ret. Gent.-Pr.) ἦστε Y 2 εἰπὼν
Ziegler 3 ἡμετέρας Cobet γλώττης Y

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4 Hephaestion, *Handbook of Meters*

... or two short syllables (are used) for one short, which is found in the other meters ... but rarely in hexameters. As a result Critias in his elegy on Alcibiades did not think that Alcibiades' name was allowable, for he says:

And now I shall crown the Athenian son of Cleinias, Alcibiades, with a song in a new manner. For it was not possible in any way to fit the name into elegiac verse; now it will lie, not unmetrically, in an iambic line.¹

¹ Iambic trimeters are occasionally found as a substitute for the pentameter, as here in v. 2, or for the hexameter.

5 Plutarch, *Life of Alcibiades*

Now the decree for his recall had been ratified earlier (411 B.C.), on the motion of Critias the son of Callaeschus, as Critias himself has written in his elegiac verses, reminding Alcibiades of the favour as follows:

As for the proposal which restored you, I was the one who delivered it among all the people, and by my motion I accomplished this deed. The seal of my tongue is set on these (words?, verses?).¹

¹ Meaning uncertain (see n. 2 on Theognis 19-38), but probably Critias is referring either to the official copy of the decree which would contain the name of the mover and would be deposited in the state archives, so that "tongue" is in effect Critias' name, or to a purely metaphorical seal which consists of Critias' poetic style.

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6 Ath. 10.432d-33b

προπόσεις δὲ τὰς γινομένας ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις
Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐκ ἦν ἔθος ποιεῖν, οὐδὲ φιλοτησίας
διὰ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιείσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα
Κριτίας ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις·

καὶ τόδ' ἔθος Σπάρτῃ μελέτημά τε κείμενόν ἐστι·
πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἰνοφόρον κύλικα,
μηδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπόσεις ὀνομαστὶ λέγοντα,
μηδ' ἐπὶ δεξιτερὰν χεῖρα κύκλῳ θιάσου

.....

- 5 ἄγγεα Λυδὴ χεῖρ ἡῦρ' Ἀσιατογενής,
καὶ προπόσεις ὀρέγειν ἐπιδέξια, καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι
ἐξονομακλήδην ᾧ προπιεῖν ἐθέλει.
εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοιούτων πόσεων γλώσσας τε λύνουσιν
εἰς αἰσχροὺς μύθους σῶμά τ' ἀμαυρότερον
10 τεύχουσιν· πρὸς δ' ὄμμ' ἀχλὺς ἀμβλωπὸς ἐφίζει
λῆστις δ' ἐκτῆκει μνημοσύνην πραπίδων,
νοῦς δὲ παρέσφαλται· δμῶες δ' ἀκόλαστον ἔχουσιν
ἦθος· ἐπείσπινει δ' οἰκοτριβῆς δαπάνη.
οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κόροι πίνουσι τοσοῦτον
15 ὥστε φρέν' εἰς ἰλαρὰν τ' ἀσπίδα πάντ' ἀπάγειν†
εἷς τε φιλοφροσύνην γλῶσσαν μέτριόν τε γέλωτα.
τοιαύτη δὲ πόσις σώματί τ' ὠφέλιμος
γνώμη τε κτήσεται· καλῶς δ' εἰς ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης
πρὸς θ' ὕπνον ἤρμονται, τὸν καμάτων λιμένα,
20 πρὸς τὴν τερπνοτάτην τε θεῶν θνητοῖς Ὑγίειαν
καὶ τὴν Εὐσεβίης γείτονα Σωφροσύνην.

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6 *Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner*

It was not the custom of the Spartans to propose toasts at drinking parties or to offer loving-cups by these means to one another. Critias makes this clear in his elegiac verses:¹

This too is the custom and established practice at Sparta: to drink from the same² wine-bearing cup, and not to give toasts while proposing them (to someone) by name, and not (to pass the cup?) to the right in the circle of company . . .³ A Lydian hand, born in Asia, invented (wine) vessels,⁴ extending of toasts to the right, and challenging by name the person to whom one wishes to drink a toast. Then, as a result of such drinking their tongues are loosened into disgraceful words and their bodies are made weaker.⁵ Upon their eyes a dark mist settles, oblivion melts away memory from their minds, and reason is tripped up. The servants have an undisciplined manner and house-ruining extravagance bursts in. But Spartan youths drink only enough (to turn?) their mind to cheerful . . .,⁶ their tongue to friendliness and moderate laughter. Such drinking is beneficial for body, mind, and property. It is well suited to the deeds of Aphrodite and to sleep, a haven from toils, and to Health, most pleasing of the gods to mortals, and to Discretion, the neighbour of Piety.

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ἐξῆς τε πάλιν φησίν·

αἱ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον κυλίκων προπόσεις
παραχρήμα

τέρψασαι λυποῦσ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον·

ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ δίαίθ' ὁμαλῶς διάκειται,

25 ἔσθειν καὶ πίνειν σύμμετρα πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν
καὶ τὸ πονεῖν εἶναι δυνάτους· οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπότακτος
ἡμέρα οἰνώσαι σῶμ' ἀμέτροισι πότοις.

2 αὐτῷ Bach, αὐτοῦ Diehl, αὐτῶν Kalinka		8 τελέουσιν
codd., corr. Musurus	9 ἀφαιρότερον malit West	
15 ἐλπίδα Emperius	πάντας ἄγειν Bergk	20 ὑγείαν
codd., corr. Musurus	21 Εὐσεβίας Wilamowitz	
25 ἐσθίειν A, corr. Musurus	τὸ φανέν A, corr. Bach	
26 “possis κεῖναι vel δυνατούς τ’” West	26-27 ἀπότακτος	
ἡμέρα CE, ἀπότακτον ἡμέρα A		

7 Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 264 (ii.39.3 Schwartz), “οὕτω τὸ λίαν ἦσσαν ἐπαινῶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄγαν· καὶ ξυμφήσουσι σοφοί μοι”

τὸ “μηδὲν ἄγαν” οἱ μὲν Χίλωνι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀνατιθέασιν, ὡς Κριτίας, οἱ δὲ Σωδάμῳ, ὡς τὸ ἐν Τεγέᾳ ἐπίγραμμα δημοῖ· “ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν Σώδαμος Ἐπηράτου, ὅς μ’ ἀνέθηκεν / μηδὲν ἄγαν, καιρῷ πάντα πρόσεστι καλά.”

Diog. Laert. 1.41

διαφωνοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀποφάσεις αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν), καὶ ἄλλου ἄλλο φασίν, ὡς ἐκεῖνο·

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He goes on to say again:

For toasts from cups that go beyond due measure, though they give momentary pleasure, bring grief for all time. But the Spartan way of life is evenly ordered: to eat and drink moderately so as to be able to think and work. There is no day set apart⁷ to intoxicate the body with immoderate drinking.

¹ Possibly from the work mentioned in test. 2. ² I.e., one's own cup, without exchanging it for someone else's.

³ It is unclear whether the genitive depends on the preceding dative or on something in the following lacuna. The lacuna may involve more than one verse, since we expect to be told that vv. 3–4 refer to the drinking practice in Athens. ⁴ Probably nothing more than the common attribution of soft living to the Lydians.

⁵ I.e., unsteadiness caused by excessive drinking. ⁶ On the text see West, *Studies* 170, and A. Meriani, *QUCC* n.s. 56 (1997) 81–86. ⁷ As occurred in Athens for festivals of Dionysus. Cf. Plato, *Laws* 1.637b.

7 Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus* (“And so I praise excess less than nothing in excess, and the wise will agree with me.”)

Some attribute “nothing in excess” to the Spartan Chilon, as does Critias, others to Sodamus, as the epigram in Tegea makes clear: “Sodamus, son of Eperatus, who set me up, said these words: nothing in excess, to due measure belongs everything that is good.”¹

Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

The utterances of the Seven Sages are variously attributed, now to one, now to another, such as the following:

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ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων σοφός, ὃς τάδ' ἔλεξε·
“μηδὲν ἄγαν, καιρῷ πάντα πρόσσεστι καλά.”

8 Plut. *Cimon* 10.5

ἔτι τοίνυν Γοργίας μὲν ὁ Λεοντῖνός (82 B 20 D.-K.)
φησι τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῶτο,
χρῆσθαι δ' ὡς τιμῶτο· Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα
γενόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις εὔχεται

πλοῦτον μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ
Κίμωνος,
νίκας δ' Ἀρκεσίλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.

2 ἀγησίλα codd., corr. Westermann

9 Stob. 3.29.11 Κριτίου·

ἐκ μελέτης πλείους ἢ φύσεως ἀγαθοί.

ἦ 'κ Bergk

CRITIAS

It was Chilon,² the Spartan sage, who said this:
"Nothing in excess, to due measure belongs every-
thing that is good."³

¹ See D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* 492-93. The disputed authorship is recorded also by Clem. *Strom.* 1.61.1 and schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.63 (ii.42.20 Dr.).

² A 6th-cent. Spartan statesman (see G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* [London 1962] 69-71) and one of the Seven Sages. For a list of apophthegms attributed to him see *Vorsokr.* i.63 D.-K. from Stobaeus 3.1.172.

³ Dietrich inserted the couplet after v. 21 of fr. 6. For v. 2 cf. Theognis 401.

8 Plutarch, *Life of Cimon*

Furthermore, Gorgias of Leontini says that Cimon acquired money so that he might use it and used it so that he might be honoured. And Critias who became one of the thirty (tyrants) prays in his elegies for

the wealth of the Scopadae,¹ the magnanimity of Cimon, and the victories of the Spartan Arcesilaus.²

¹ A ruling family in Thessaly celebrated by Simonides (cf. Theocr. 16.42-47). ² Winner in the chariot race at Olympia in 448 and 444.

9 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

From Critias:

More men excel from practice than from nature.

ADESPOTA ELEGIACA

1 Pl. Resp. 2.368a

οὐ κακῶς' εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὴν
ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐλεγείων ἐποίησεν ὁ Γλαύκωνος ἐραστής,
εὐδοκιμήσαντας περὶ τὴν Μεγαροῖ μάχην, εἰπών·

παῖδες Ἀρίστωνος, κλεινοῦ θεῖον γένος ἀνδρός.

2 Pl. Prot. 344d

τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλῷ ἐγχωρεῖ κακῷ γενέσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ
παρ' ἄλλου ποιητοῦ μαρτυρεῖται τοῦ εἰπόντος·

αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τοτὲ μὲν κακός, ἄλλοτε δ'
ἐσθλός.

cf. Xen. mem. 1.2.20, Stob. 3.29.95

ὅτε Xen. cod. unus, ποτὲ Stob. cod. A

ANONYMOUS ELEGIACS

1 Plato, *Republic*

When you had distinguished yourselves in the battle at Megara,¹ Glaucon's lover² composed an excellent beginning to his elegiac verses³ on you, sons of that well-known man,⁴ saying:

Sons of Ariston,⁵ god-like offspring of a famous man

¹ Diod. Sic. 13.65 records a victory of the Athenians against a superior force of Megarians in 409. ² Thought by some to be Critias.

³ Aristides *or.* 45 (ii.98 Dindorf) and the scholia ad loc. (iii.420.1) cite the verse and call it an epigram (ἐπίγραμμα). ⁴ It is unclear whether this is Ariston.

⁵ Father of Glaucon, Adeimantus, and Plato.

2 Plato, *Protagoras*

It is possible for a good man to become bad, as is attested by another poet¹ who said:

but a good man is at one time bad, at another good²

¹ I.e., other than Simonides whose poem (fr. 542 *PMG*) on this topic is examined at some length in the dialogue. ² No distinction, I think, is intended between ἀγαθός and ἐσθλός. By

'good' is meant one who is held in esteem through birth, conduct, circumstances etc. and by 'bad' is meant the opposite. Perhaps 'worthy' and 'wretched' would be more accurate translations.

ELEGIAC POETRY

2a Pl. *Phaedr.* 241d

ταῦτά τε οὖν χρή, ὦ παῖ, ξυννοεῖν, καὶ εἰδέναι τὴν
ἐραστοῦ φιλίαν, ὅτι οὐ μετ' εὐνοίας γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ
σιτίου τρόπον, χάριν πλησμονῆς,

ὥς λύκοι ἄρν' ἀγαπῶσ', ὥς παῖδα φιλοῦσιν
ἐρασταί.

cf. schol. ad loc. (p. 78 Greene), schol. Hom. *Il.* 22.263b
(v.319.64 Erbse), Diogen. 8.76 (*Paroem. Gr.* i.320.9), Aristaen.
2.20 etc.

ἄρνας codd. Plat., ἄρνα φιλοῦσι λύκοι νέον ὥς φιλέουσιν
ἐρασταί schol. Hom.

3 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 2.6.1106b28

ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἁμαρτάνειν πολλαχῶς ἔστιν . . . τὸ δὲ
κατορθοῦν μοναχῶς . . . καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τῆς μὲν
κακίας ἢ ὑπερβολῇ καὶ ἢ ἔλλειψις, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς ἢ
μεσότης.

ἐσθλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς, παντοδαπῶς δὲ κακοί.

4 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 8.5.1157b11

ἐὰν δὲ χρόνιος ἡ ἀπουσία γίνηται, καὶ τῆς φιλίας
δοκεῖ λήθην ποιεῖν· ὅθεν εἴρηται.

πολλὰς δὲ φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσεν.

ANONYMOUS ELEGIACS

2a Plato, *Phaedrus*

These things, lad, you should bear in mind, and you should know that a lover's friendship is not based on good will, but, like food, it is to get one's fill:

As wolves love a lamb, so lovers love a boy.

3 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

Furthermore, error is multiform . . . but success is possible in one way only . . . And so because of this excess and deficiency are a mark of vice, whereas the mean is a mark of virtue:

The good are good in one way only, the bad are bad in all sorts of ways.

4 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

But if absence is prolonged, it seems to bring forgetfulness of friendship. Hence the statement:

Lack of discourse dissolves many a friendship.

ELEGIAC POETRY

5 Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 7.2.1236a34

διὰ γὰρ τὸ χρήσιμοι εἶναι φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, καὶ
μέχρι τούτου, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία· (Arch. fr. 15) . . ., καί
οὐκέτι γινώσκουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεγαρήας.

6 Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 20.5

ἔτι δὲ πρότερον τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν Κήδων ἐπέθετο τοῖς
τυράννοις, διὸ καὶ ἦδον καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς σκο-
λίοις·

ἔγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,
εἰ χρὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἰνοχοεῖν.

7 Theophrast. *de ventis* 51 (p. 50 Coutant-Eichenlaub)

ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς χώρας ἐκάστοις καὶ τοὺς τόπους
ἐπινεφῇ καὶ αἰθρίαί, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἐν παροιμία
λεγομένων πρὸς τινὰς τόπους ἔνια, ὥς περὶ τοῦ Ἀρ-
γέστου καὶ Λιβός. ἰσχυρὸς δὲ μάλιστα περὶ Κνίδον
καὶ Ῥόδον·

Λὺψ ἄνεμος ταχὺ μὲν νεφέλας, ταχὺ δ' αἰθρία
ποιεῖ·

Ἀργέστη δ' ἀνέμῳ πᾶσ' ἔπεται νεφέλη.

ANONYMOUS ELEGIACS

5 Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics*

For they are friends of one another only as long as they are useful, as the proverb goes: (Archilochus fr. 15), and:

Athenians no longer recognize Megarians.¹

¹ The verse is repeated in 1242b22.

6 Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians*

At a still earlier time than that of the Alcmaeonidae Cedon attacked the tyrants,¹ and hence they sang of him too in their scolia:

Pour a cup for Cedon² too, waiter, and don't forget him, if you are to pour wine for men of worth.³

¹ Hippias and Hipparchus, sons of Peisistratus. ² Otherwise unknown. ³ The couplet is also quoted by Athenaeus 15.695e among his examples of Attic scolia. For some ancient explanations of the term 'scolia,' see the Loeb *Greek Lyric* v.274-79, and for a commentary on the couplet see E. Fabbro, *I carmi conviviali attici* (Rome 1995) 182-85.

7 Theophrastus, *On Winds*

Since cloudy and clear skies are associated with each wind according to districts and places, for this reason some of the things said in proverbs are associated with certain places, as for example concerning the Northwest and the Southwest winds. The latter is especially strong round about Cnidus and Rhodes:

The Southwest wind quickly brings clouds and quickly a clear sky, but all the clouds accompany the Northwest wind.

ELEGIAC POETRY

8 Chrysipp. π. ἀποφατικῶν (ii.54.23 von Arnim)

εἰ ποιητής τις οὕτως ἀπεφήνατο,

οὐ μοι ἔτ' εὐκελάδων ὕμνων μέλει οὐδ' ἔτι μολπῆς,
φάσις ἐστὶν ὅπερ οὕτω λεχθείη ἄν· “μοὶ—μολπῆς”
κτλ.

9 Polyb. 4.18.7

οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ταχέως ἐγκρατεῖς
γενόμενοι τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐν τούτῳ
ἔπραξαν δικαιοτάτον.

Id. 15.26a.1

Δείνωνα τὸν Δείνωνος ἐπανείλετο Ἀγαθοκλῆς, καὶ
τούτῳ ἔπραξε τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων, ὥς ἡ παροιμία φησί,
δικαιοτάτον.

Suda (iv.577.12 Adler)

τούτῳ ποιήσας ἐν κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τῶν ἀδίκων
ἔργων δικαιοτάτον.

10 Polyb. 15.16.6

ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ ταυτόματον ἀντέπραξε ταῖς
ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε πάλιν κατὰ
τὴν παροιμίαν

ANONYMOUS ELEGIACS

8 Chrysippus, *On Negatives*

If a poet expressed himself thus,

No longer do I care for melodious songs, no longer
for song and dance,

it is a statement which could be made as follows: "I care for
. . . song and dance" etc.

9 Polybius, *Histories*

For these reasons the Aetolians quickly became masters of
the city, and among their unjust deeds they did this one
that was most just.

The same

Agathocles killed Deinon, the son of Deinon, and among
his unjust deeds he did this that was most just, as the prov-
erb goes.

Suda

Having done among his unjust deeds this one that was
most just, as the proverb goes.¹

¹The proverb is probably best represented either by Cobet's
pentameter τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων τοῦτο δικαιοτάτον or by Bergk's
τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐν τὸ δικαιοτάτον.

10 Polybius, *Histories*

Sometimes chance counteracts the designs of good men,
and sometimes according to the proverb

ELEGIAC POETRY

ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ἄλλου κρείττονος ἀντέτυχεν.

11 Dion. Hal. *de comp. verb.* 200-201

. . . πεντάμετρον ἐλεγειακὸν ἔσται συντετελεσμένον
τουτί (Demosth. 23.1), “μήτ’ ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς
ἔνεκα,” ὅμοιον τούτοις·

κοῦραι ἐλαφρὰ ποδῶν ἵχνι’ ἀειράμεναι.

12 Plut. *Alex.* 53.5 (= Hermippus fr. 50 Wehrli)

οὕτω δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὴν παλινωδίαν τραπόμενον
πολλὰ παρρησιάσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ
τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν στάσιν αἰτίαν ἀποφήναντα τῆς γενο-
μένης περὶ Φίλιππον αὐξήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως εἰπεῖν·

ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔλλαχε τιμῆς.

cf. Plut. *Nic.* 11.3, *Sull.* 39.3 (*comp. Lys. et Sull.* 1.3), *de frat.*
amore 2.479a; *Paroem. Gr.* i.76.2

ἔμμορε *frat. am.*, *Nic. cod. unus*, *Paroem. Gr.*

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although a good man, he met another who was better¹

¹ The *Suda* (ii.350.6 Adler) cites the passage and explains the fragment as referring to Hyllus, son of Heracles, killed by Echemus of Tegea (reading Ἐχέμου τοῦ Τεγεάτου for εὐχέμου τοῦ αἰγεάτου of the MSS). For the combat see Herodotus 9.26.

11 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*

. . . it will be a complete elegiac pentameter as follows, "and not because of any private hostility,"¹ similar to these words:

girls who lifted up their light footsteps (in the dance)

¹ The passage in Demosthenes is: μήτ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἐμὲ μηδεμιᾶς ἔνεχ' ἦκειν.

12 Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*

And so the man (Callisthenes), resorting to a palinode, spoke openly and loudly against the Macedonians, and after showing that faction among the Greeks was responsible for the increase of Philip's power, said:

in times of discord even the utterly base man wins honour

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13 Plut. *Them.* 18.3

πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων Ἀντιφάτην ὑπερ-
ηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ θερα-
πεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, “ὦ μειράκιον,” εἶπεν, “ὄψέ μὲν,
ἀμφοτέροι δ’ ἅμα νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν.”

ὁψὲ μὲν, ἀμφότεροι δ' ἅμα νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν, <ὦ
παῖ>

ὦ παῖ add. West

14a Schol. Aesch. *Cho.* 344a (p. 24.1 Smith), “νεοκράτα”
κρατήρα. < >

νεοκρήτου τ' εἰσεπιλειβομένας.

-μένος / <σπονδάς> Weil -μένης Wilamowitz

16 Ps.-Herodian. *Philet.* 167 (p. 59 Dain) = excerpta 72 (p. 80 Dain)

← Ψ → ὀλίγης ἐστὶ διδασκαλίας,
ἀντὶ τοῦ “ὀλίγων δεῖται πρὸς μάθησιν.”

διδασκαλίας? West

17 Paus. 4.16.6

Ἀριστομένει δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν ταινίας αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ ὡραῖα ἐπιβάλλουσαι τῶν

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13 Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*

And to one of those who had been handsome, Antiphates, and who had earlier treated him with disdain but later courted him because of his fame, Themistocles said, "Young man, it's late, but we have both come to our senses."

It's late, (boy), but we have both come to our senses.¹

¹ The same story of Themistocles and Antiphates is reported in Plut. *reg. et imp. apophth.* 185c, but with ἀλλά in place of δ' ἄμα.

14a Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Choephoroi* ("newly mixed")

Mixing bowl . . .

(libations?) poured of newly mixed (wine)

16 Pseudo-Herodian, *Philetairos*

it requires little instruction,

instead of "there is need of little to effect learning."

17 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

When Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women threw ribbons and flower blossoms over him and all the

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ἀνθῶν ἐπέλεγον ᾄσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἀδόμενον·
ἔς τε μέσον πεδίων Στεινυκλήριον ἔς τ' ὄρος ἄκρον
εἶπετ' Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

18 Paus. 8.28.3

Ἄλεντος δὲ τοῦ ἐν Κολοφῶνι καὶ ἐλεγείων ποιηταὶ τὴν
ψυχρότητα ᾄδουσι.

19 Ath. 8.337e

. . . οὐκ ἀνοήτως γε τοῦτο φήσας ὁ αὐλητής· λόγος
γὰρ παλαιὸς ὥς ὅτι

ἀνδρὶ μὲν αὐλητῇρι θεοὶ νόον οὐκ ἐνέφυσαν,
ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ φύσῃν χῶ νόος ἐκπέταται.

20 Aphthonius (*Gramm. Lat.* vi.112.20 Keil)

hoc quoque notandum in enuntiatione pentametri elegiaci; nam plerumque aurem fallit, ut in illo Graeco versu:

ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς Ἑλλης πόντον ἀπεπλέομεν.

nam si coniunctim Ἑλλάσποντον enuntiarimus, effugerit aurium sensum, ut nequaquam versus esse credatur; at si per hemistichium pronuntiemus, ipsa subdistinctione genus metri declarabimus, ita, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς Ἑλλης, dehinc πόντον ἀπεπλέομεν.

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while sang a song which is still sung even to our day:

To the middle of the Stenyclerian plain and to the mountain top Aristomenes¹ pursued the Spartans.

¹ A Messenian who distinguished himself in the second war against the Spartans, fought during Tyrtaeus' lifetime.

18 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

Even elegiac poets sing of the coldness of the Ales (river)¹ in Colophon.

¹ See n. 2 on Mimn. fr. 9.

19 Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

... this was no foolish comment by the piper, for there is an ancient saying that

The gods did not implant sense in a piper, but with his blowing his sense flies out as well.

20 Aphthonius, *On meters*

This too should be noted in the delivery of the elegiac pentameter. Frequently the ear is deceived, as in the Greek verse,

We were sailing away to Helle's sea.

For if we pronounce Helle's sea as one word (Hellespont), it escapes the perception of the ear, with the result that it is not thought to be a verse at all. But if we pronounce it as a hemistich, we will show the type of meter by the very separation, namely, "to Helle's," then "sea we were sailing away."

ELEGIAC POETRY

21 Stob. 1.1.6

Ζεὺς πάντων αὐτὸς φάρμακα μούνος ἔχει.

πάντως codd., corr. Grotius

22 Stob. 1.8.15

οὐκ ἔστιν μείζων βάσανος χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔργου,
ὃς καὶ ὑπὸ στέρνοις ἀνδρὸς ἔδειξε νόον.

1 ἔστι codd., corr. Canter

23 Stob. 1.8.16

ὥφελεν ὡς ἀφανὴς οὕτω φανερώτατος εἶναι
καιρός· ὃς αὐξάνεται πλείστον ἀπ' εὐλαβίης.

1 ὥφελον codd., corr. Grotius

24 Stob. 4.10.10 Εὐριπίδου ἐκ Τηλέφου (= fr. 702 N.²)

†τόλμ' αἰὶ† κᾶν τι τρηχὺ νέμωσι θεοί.

τόλμης αἰὶ cod. A, unde δει Meineke τόλμα δή Bergk
τραχὺ νείμωσιν Bothe νέμωσιν S¹M

25 Schol. Eur. Andr. 184 (ii.265.15 Schwartz), “κακὸν γε θνητοῖς τὸ νέον”

διὰ τὴν προπέτειαν κακὸν τὸ νέον.

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21 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Zeus alone has cures for everything.

22 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

There is no better test for any action than time, which reveals a man's thoughts even when hidden in his breast.

23 Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Would that a hidden opportunity might thus be perfectly clear; it is enhanced most by caution.

24 Stobaeus, *Anthology* (from Euripides, *Telephus*¹)

Endure, even if the gods deal you a hard lot.

¹ If the passage is a pentameter, as it appears to be, the attribution to Euripides is improbable.

25 Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache* ("youth is indeed a curse to mankind")

Youth is a curse because of its rashness.

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ἡ νεότης ἀσύφηλος αἰὲ θνητοῖσι τέτυκται·
εἰ δὲ δίκην βλάπτοι, πουλὺ χεριοτέρη.

2 εἰ δὲ δίκαιον οὐ δύναται ἔχειν χεριοτέρα cod. O πολὺ
M, corr. Matthiae

26 Macar. 8.39 (*Paroem. Gr.* ii.219.10)

τὸν φρουρὸν φρουρεῖν χρή, τὸν ἐρώντα δ' ἐρᾶν.

χρὴ φρουρεῖν codd., transp. Bergk

27 P. Berol. 13270, ed. Schubart-Wilamowitz, *BKT*
v(2).62

χαίρετε, συμπόται ἄνδρες ὁμ[.....· ἐ]ξ ἀγαθοῦ
γὰρ

ἀρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον [ε]ἰς ἀγα[θό]ν.
χρὴ δ', ὅταν εἰς τοιοῦτο συνέλθωμεν φίλοι
ἄνδρες

πρᾶγμα, γελᾶν παίζειν χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ,
5 ἥδεσθαί τε συνόντας, ἐς ἀλλήλους τε φ[λ]υαρεῖν
καὶ σκώπτειν τοιαῦθ' οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν.

ἡ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐπέσθω, ἀκούωμέν [τε λ]εγόντων
ἐν μέρει ἥδ' ἀρετὴ συμποσίου πέλεται.

τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος πειθώμεθα· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν
10 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐλογίαν τε φέρει.

1 ὁμ[ήλικες Schubart, ὁμ[όφρονες Pellizer 6 φέρει
Wilamowitz 7 [τε λ]εγόντων Wilamowitz, [δὲ λ]εγόντων
Ferrari 10 φέρειν pap., corr. Wilamowitz

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Youth is ever headstrong among mortals; but if it should harm justice, it is far worse.

26 Macarius, *Proverbs*

The guard should guard, the lover love.

27 Berlin papyrus (c. 300 B.C.)

Hail, fellow drinkers, (age-mates?). Fine was my beginning and fine will be the end of my discourse. Whenever we friends gather for such an activity, we ought to laugh and joke, behaving properly, take pleasure in being together, engage in foolish talk with one another, and utter jests such as to arouse laughter. But let seriousness follow and let us listen to the speakers in their turn: this is the best form of symposium. And let us obey the symposiarch: this is the conduct of good men and it wins praise.¹

¹ Or possibly "produces good discourse." For a commentary on the poem see F. Ferrari, *SCO* 38 (1988) 219-27.

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61 P. Oxy. xxx.2507, ed. Lobel

]γοσ[
]λος ατε[
].η πολυω[νυμ-
]μιν πῆμ' ἐφυτ[ευ-
 5 ο]ὔκ ἂν ἔγωγε μ[
]των φάσγανον[
]ην μοι κεχαρισμ[έν-
]νεην Θεσσαλ[
]στος Ἀθηναίησ[
 10]ν δῶρον ἐπιστ[αμεν-
 ἀ]λκὴν ἐρρύσατο .[
]δακρυόεντα β[έλεα
]η πυρὶ μὲν πολυ[
]χος λάμπετο και[ομεν-

4 ἐφυτ[ευ- Lobel, ἐφύτ[ευσε βροτοῖς West 8 κυ]νέην
 dub. West θεσσαμ[εν- Tarditi 12 suppl. West cet-
 era Lobel

62 P. Oxy. xxx.2508, ed. Lobel

]ην τετράφαλον[
]τοῖσιν ἔβη ταχύ[
]ἐν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔπος α[
]ισιν ἔνα πρόμον[
 5].ας ἀσπίδας ἀντ[
].τείνησι Καρύσ[τι-
]ον χῶρον Ἐρετρ[ιέων

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61 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (2nd c. A.D.)¹

. . . of many names² . . . brought about bane . . . I
would not . . . sword . . . pleasing to me . . . Thessalian
(helmet?) . . . Athena . . . knowledgeable in the gift³
. . . valour, saved (checked?) . . . woeful (missiles) . . .
with fire . . . gleamed burning . . .

¹ The fragment begins with an hexameter. ² Probably an
epithet of a deity. ³ A phrase found in Archil. fr. 1.2. Lobel
hesitantly assigns both fr. 61 and fr. 62 to Archilochus.

62 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (1st c. A.D.)

. . . (helmet?) with four ridges(?)¹ . . . came swiftly . . .
for this speech² . . . one champion . . . shields . . .
stretches Carystian³ . . . land of the Eretrians . . . de-

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]ν ἔργον ἐμήσατ[ο
]πάλων βουσὶν ἐσ[
10]ης ἐς ἀνάκτορ[ον
]δυσμενέων ἐ[
]υσα μένει δ.[
]ωνδ' εἶπε τάδ[
	ἐ]νοπήν θωρή[
15	]ν ἄνδρα Διὶ ξυ[ν
	]ς ἐχέτω δόμο[
	]άνερα· τὼσφ.[
	]λος ἔβη[
	]τως ἔφε[
20	]άδων .[
	]ης ἀντ[
	]εμουτ[
	]άληι σὺν[
	]έπαυσε[
25	]λης αἶτ[

1 κυνέ]ην e.g. West	3 ἐν Lobel propter accentum	
5 ἀμφ[sscr. ντ	9 ἀντι]πάλων Lobel	10 ἐπ sscr. σ
14 θωρή[κων Lobel		

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vised a deed . . . cattle (of the adversaries?) . . . to the temple . . . enemies . . . stands fast(?) . . . said this . . . sound . . . man with the aid of(?) Zeus . . . let him hold . . . man . . . went . . . ceased . . .

¹ The compound occurs twice in Homer (*Il.* 12.384, 22.315) as a description of a helmet, but the meaning of *φάλος* is unknown.

² It is unclear whether this marks the beginning of a speech, with v. 13 its end, or whether this concludes a speech and v. 13 begins a second one.

³ Carystus was at the southern end of Euboea and Eretria (v. 7) on the west coast of the island. Fighting in Euboea is mentioned in Archil. fr. 3. For the verb Lobel remarks: "The subjunctive may imply a clause of the form 'as far as stretches', say, the Carystian plain, ridge."